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J. C. Heesterman

THE ANCIENT INDIAN ROYAL CONSECRATION

THE RĀJASŪYA DESCRIBED ACCORDING TO THE YAJUS TEXTS AND ANNOTED

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THE ANCIENT INDIAN ROYAL CONSECRATION

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THE ANCIENT INDIAN ROYAL CONSECRATION

THE RĀJASŪYA DESCRIBED ACCORDING TO THE YAJUS TEXTS AND ANNOTED

BY

J. C. HEESTERMAN

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TO THE MEMORY OF

JEHUDA LION PALACHE

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF AMSTERDAM

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NOTE ON THE MATERIALS USED AND THEIR PRESENTATION

In the present monograph an attempt will be made to describe a Vedic ritual together with an interpretation of its meaning, based on the explanations given in the brāhmaṇa texts by the Vedic ritualists themselves. In succeeding chapters the various sacrifices and ceremonies will be described, and the brāhmaṇa explanations will be discussed under the heading "Annotations" appended to each chapter. An epilogue at the end of this volume will sum up the results arrived at in the "Annotations" and discuss their bearing on the śrauta ritual as a whole.

At first sight it may seem preferable to give translations of the relevant brāhmaṇa passages in full. Their often abstruse statements, however, are mostly not clear in themselves, as they implicitly refer to ideas or concepts well-known to the Vedic ritualist. To understand these statements we must compare them with parallel and related passages so as to distill the purport of the ideas referred to, and to define their bearing on the rituals involved. The present writer has therefore thought it advisable to present the reader with the results arrived at, rather than to translate the relevant brāhmaṇa passages, which in part may be referred to in the translations already available. In this way it is hoped that Vedic ritual thought will be brought nearer to the understanding of the general historian of religion and the cultural anthropologist, so that the Vedic ritual eventually may receive some of the attention due to it for its interest.

As to the descriptions it will be noted that they are based mainly on the ritual authorities of the Black Yajus school, which have become better known through critical editions and the important translation by W. Caland of Āpastamba's śrautasūtra; so in contrast to Weber who had only the manual of the White Yajur Veda, Kātyāyana's śrautasūtra, at his disposition.

In the descriptions of the sacrifices and ceremonies of the rājasūya I have stressed those points which constitute modifications of their basic forms (*prakṛti-*). For the details of these basic forms the reader is referred to the model descriptions noted in the Bibliography.

Though I have tried to limit the use of technical terms as much as possible it has proved impracticable to avoid them altogether. These, as well as general information on the Vedic sacrifice, may be found in the works listed in the Bibliography, where I have compiled the indispensable instruments for the study of Vedic ritual.

The Vedic ritual was meant to be performed, heard and seen by those qualified, certainly not to be read. Already at the time when the description of the Agniṣṭoma was published by Caland and Henry, the wish was expressed to have photographic recordings of the ritual proceedings as well. I may therefore call attention to the film and sound recordings made by Dr J. A. B. van Buitenen of a revivalistic performance of the vājapeya at Poona, which cover the whole paradigma of the Soma sacrifice. It is to be hoped that this initiative will meet with a wide response, so as to contribute to the general understanding of ancient Indian religion.

INTRODUCTION

In the ancient Indian corpus rituale the rājasūya did not represent a special type of sacrifice, nor was it surrounded with the pomp and prestige of the horse sacrifice, the aśvamedha, the "king of sacrifices". From the point of view of the Vedic ritualist it consisted of a series of ekāhas (one-day Soma sacrifices), alternating with iṣṭis (offerings of cakes and porridge) and an occasional animal sacrifice, all of a common type and only modified by the simple insertion of special rites such as the unction, the chariot drive, the dicing ceremony and the use of some special formulas. The king, who is consecrated – not inaugurated, as I shall presently argue – by this ritual, is for the Vedic ritualist nothing more than a common sacrificer, *yajamāna-*, and is in the texts almost exclusively referred to as such. It is not the king but the sacrifice on which the attention is focussed. His being practically put on a par with the common sacrificer does, however, not detract from his royal dignity. The śrauta sacrifice and especially the Soma sacrifice is imbued with the idea of kingship, and the common Soma sacrificer, whose consecration (dīkṣā) strikingly resembles the royal unction rites, seems to have had the king as his prototype. The study of the rājasūya therefore not only implies the study of the śrauta ritual as a whole but even offers a point of vantage for it.

The śrauta ritual as known to us represents a highly refined and systematized code of basic elements (manipulations, formulas, liturgical performances, gifts to the officiants), which are composed into uniform patterns which by means of altering, replacing or adding one or more elements can be adapted to the circumstances. The basic pattern is the iṣṭi, the preparation and offering of one or more cakes or bowls of porridge. Along the same lines the animal sacrifice is built up; more complicated is the Soma sacrifice, the pressing of the Soma plant and the offering of the sap, in which liturgical performances (stotras and śastras) take a prominent part; but generally speaking its ritual again presents the same pattern. The amount of abstraction and systematization involved in the development of the ritual can be seen for instance in the śunāsīrīya iṣṭi which will be discussed in the course of the present work. Obviously the śunāsīrīya iṣṭi was originally a rite connected with ploughing and fertility, but it has in the śrauta ritual been abstracted into an iṣṭi, while the ploughing itself was translated into the ritual symbol of the giving of a plough with twelve oxen as a gift to the officiating priests.

This pliable system of ritual patterns could – and actually did – thus take in and remould a great variety of rites, and it constitutes a veritable encyclopaedia of ancient Indian cults. This was also the case with the royal cult or cults, which after having in all probability engendered the śrauta ritual, were later on taken into and preserved in it. The rājasūya is one of those śrauta sacrifices in which the royal rites and cults, probably of diverse origin, were preserved. It should, however, not be inferred that the śrauta ritual had general validity. Its manuals are, like most brahmanic manuals, encyclopaedias recording the ritual in its ideal form. Thus there will have existed also other royal rites (notably unction ceremonies, abhiṣeka) of varying form which have left traces in the abhiṣekas described in the seventh book of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and in the Kauśika-sūtra.[1]

The present work is exclusively concerned with the rājasūya. Its ritual together with the explanations given in the brāhmaṇas presents a rich and varied documentation on the Vedic conception of kingship.

When studying the Vedic ritual texts one may take them as more or less distant reflections of the ancient Indian world; one may glean data about the social, economic, political conditions prevailing in Vedic India and, reversely, employ the facts thus gathered for the interpretation of the texts. Generally speaking this was the outlook of the pioneer era of modern Vedic philology. To this pioneer era belongs the treatise of A. Weber, one of the inaugurators of modern Vedic studies, "*Über die Königsweihe, den rājasūya*", which after sixty years still stands as one of the many monuments of his philological scholarship and Vedic erudition. His translation of the sūtras, in which he covers the ritual of the four groups of priests co-operating in the śrauta ritual, has proved to the present writer an indispensable instrument. As to his outlook on the ritual he is, as was the habit in that stage of ritual studies, primarily concerned with its social and political implications. His attention centres mainly on the political relation of king and brahmin, on the king as administrator and military leader, etc.[2] It must be considered practically unavoidable that, without the help of what is nowadays known about Indian thought and the history of religion in general, he must have been biased in his view of ancient Indian kingship by the ideals and conditions of his own time and surroundings, those of the Wilhelminic Germany. Measured by these standards the ancient Indian king as represented in the rājasūya ritual must necessarily appear as a sadly priest-ridden heir of what he considers to have been the Aryan king; his "kühne Beutezüge" have been turned by the priests into a "Persiflage", the ritual chariot drive; his part of the Soma beverage has been pilfered from him; he is even beaten by the priests. The notion of sacral kingship,[3] the regenerative effect of festivals and chariot drives or races etc., the ritual significance of beating were not common property in his days; even the views of his compatriot Mannhardt, which to a great extent might have helped him in understanding the rituals involved, were far from being generally accepted. The Vedic ritual texts give all the information necessary for the understanding of the ritual. Weber, however, looks on their statements only as priestly theories, wholly divorced from popular cult and belief, which latter preserved, in contrast to the priestly ritual, the true spirit of Aryan kingship, that is his own Wilhelminic conception of kingship projected into Aryan prehistory. The priests admitted popular rites into the ritual, but: "die Priester sind überall und stets so klug gewesen dem Volkswillen sich zu beugen, haben dann aber dem Dinge auch stets ein Mäntelchen umzuhängen gewusst" (p. 25).

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[1] Also the śrauta ritual of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana has preserved an interesting example of a royal unction ceremony, the rājābhiṣeka or mṛtyusava, without śrauta complications. (Cf. Āp. 22, 28; Baudh. 18, 16–19. For the abhiṣeka in general cf. F. W. Thomas, art. Abhiṣeka, ERE, 1,20–24).

[2] Recently this line of research has been taken up again in India. I refer to K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* (Calcutta, 1925); U. N. Goshal, "The besprinkling ceremony

The exploration of the Vedic texts and of Vedic thought has progressed since Weber's time and by now we are in a position better to understand their value. They enable us to see the world through the eyes of the Vedic Indian himself, for, though mostly the work of ritualists, they represent a reliable cross-section of the trends of thought at that time, otherwise they could not have met with so wide a response in the development of Indian thought. In the light of these texts the crucial problem of the relation king-brahmin, for which I refer especially to the discussion on the devasū offerings, should be stated in terms quite different from the subjugation of the royal power by the priestly authority. The present study will

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of the rājasūya", *I.H.Q.*, 19,4 (1943); K. M. Panikkar, *Origin and evolution of kingship in India* (Baroda, 1938).

[3] Weber was, however, aware of the divinity of the ancient Indian king, as every student of Indian culture perforce must be, when he surmises that the word *deva-* in *deva-sū-* means king (p. 29). For the relevant facts with regard to the divine character of ancient Indian kingship cf. J. Gonda, "Ancient Indian Kingship", *Numen*, 3, pp. 36–71; 122–55 (to be continued); E. W. Hopkins, "The divinity of kings", *JAOS*, 51 (1931), pp. 309–316.

therefore be an attempt to reconsider the materials collected by Weber, supplemented with other data (to wit: those of the sūtras of the Black Yajus school) and to assess them against the background of Vedic thought. Thus we shall be able to study the Vedic conception of kingship in its relation to the Vedic view of the world.

A few words may be added here about the conception the Vedic ritualist had of his world.[4] To the Vedic thinker the whole universe was constantly moving between the two poles – of birth and death, integration and disintegration, ascension and descent – which by their interaction occasion the cyclical rhythm of the cosmos. In this world of floating forms there are no hard and fast lines; conceptually different entities and notions interchange with bewildering ease. All things, entities, notions, powers, are connected with each other. Nevertheless this world is not the chaos it seems to be at first sight. The point at issue for the Vedic thinker is not to disentangle and differentiate conceptually different entities and notions but to realize, to know, their connections (*bandhu-*). In the course of this process the connections converged more and more and in the end, as is shown in the upaniṣad texts, the intrinsic coherence of the universe was formulated in the ultimate connection *tat tvam asi*. In principle this identification of man with the cosmos is present in ritualistic thought. The place of sacrifice is by virtue of the code of connections identical with the cosmos; the three fires are the three divisions of space, the course of the sacrifice represents the year. On the place of sacrifice the cosmic drama of death and rebirth, integration and disintegration, ascension and descent, is enacted and, reversely, through the same code of connections brought to bear upon the macrocosmos. In the centre of this sacrificial world stands the sacrificer for whose benefit the cosmic processes are set in motion by the ritualists, who know the connections. Thus the whole world is centred upon the sacrificer, who "becomes all this" and represents in his person the cosmic drama.

"La vie du sacrifice est donc une série infinie de morts et de naissances", as Lévi concluded.[5] They are the two poles of cosmic life; and the sacrificer, realizing through the ritual symbols his identity with the universe, performs through the sacrifice the cyclical rhythm of the universe in a series of deaths and births; again and again he enters as an embryo upon the dīkṣā to be reborn out of the sacrifice.[6] The king in the rājasūya does likewise, and it will be seen that the successive stages of the rājasūya represent the ever-repeated cosmic births. In the first place it should be noticed that, when we render rājasūya by "royal consecration", it is by no means comparable to our ideas of a coronation or consecration performed once and for all, by virtue of which a person is made into a king. It is explicitly stated that it is to be performed by a king who wants to obtain access to heaven (*svargakāma-*).[7] The rājasūya seems to have been originally a yearly repeated rite of cosmic regeneration and rebirth, not unlike the Hindu seasonal festivals, the utsavas.[8] This can still be seen in the form of the rājasūya known to us, when we consider the framework and the apparent role of the year's turning in it.

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[4] The interested reader is referred for detailed accounts to S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice* (Paris, 1898); H. Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa Texte* (Göttingen, 1919); L. Silburn, *Instant et Cause* (Paris, 1955), pp. 50–105.

[5] S. Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 81.

In the descriptions of the rājasūya its central moment, the unction festival, is always preceded by a year. This year is ritually marked by the four-monthly sacrifices (cāturmāsyas). An alternative way of marking this year is a year-long dīkṣā. Both patterns are used by Āp. (18, 12, 1) and Hir. (13, 5, 1) who have first a cāturmāsya year followed by a dīkṣā year.[9]

Though there is no uniform opinion in the Vedic texts on the beginning of the year,[10] it seems that in general the year was considered to begin in spring; the cāturmāsyas, when they are performed as an independent sacrifice, were begun in the spring months Phālguna or Caitra.[11] TS. 7, 4, 8, discussing the different dates for beginning the year-long sacrificial session (gavām ayana), mentions the month Phālguna and Caitra and the 8th day after full moon in the preceding month (Māgha).

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[6] Cf. such passages as ŚB. 3,2,1,11.40; 4,4,2,9; AB. 6,9,8; MS. 3,6,7: 68.16; ChU. 3,17,5.

[7] Cf. Āp. 18,8,1; Hir. 13,3,1. Weber p. 7–8 gives more examples but tries to save the rājasūya's alleged character as royal installation ceremony.

[8] Cf. J. Gonda, Skt. *utsava-*, "festival", *India Antiqua* (presented to J. Ph. Vogel) (Leyden, 1947), p. 149 ff. That the rājasūya originally may have been a regularly repeated, e.g. annual, or an occasional, quickening rite undergone by kings, was already supposed by F. W. Thomas (ERE, 1, p. 23). Hinduistic India knew also a yearly repeated unction rite, the Puṣyasnāna, to be performed in the month Pauṣya, cf. Varāhamihira, Bṛhatsaṃhitā 48, 82.

[9] Vait. 36,6 marks the year preceding the unction by the ten saṃsṛp offerings which in the Yajurveda bridge the interval between the unction festival and the daśapeya. The cāturmāsyas follow in the Vait. (36,9) after the unction. There seem to have been at least two opposing patterns, one with Soma ritual and one without. The Soma ritual seems to have increasingly asserted its rights. Thus we find at the beginning of the rājasūya a series of iṣṭis introducing the unction year and also an introductory Soma festival, not mentioned in the brāhmaṇas of the Yajurveda (TB. 1,8,7,1 mentions it, but only at the end of its exposition of the rājasūya, in an appendix).

[10] Cf. Macdonell-Keith, *V.I.*, 2,157.

[11] Āp. 8,1,2; Hir. 5,1,1; Śāṅkh. 3,13,1–2; Vait. 8,8; Schrader-Nehring, *RIA*, I, 525.

Let us now consider the time-table of Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana and Hiraṇyakeśin (Āpastamba makes no stipulations on this matter).

Baudhāyana gives the days with great precision:[12] New-moon day at the beginning of Phālguna or Caitra: dīkṣā for the introductory Soma festival; on the 7th day the Soma sacrifice (Baudh. 12, 1:85. 2–3). Then: 8 iṣṭis (Anumati etc.) during the rest of the first half month. On the full moon day (Phālguna or Caitra) beginning of the cāturmāsya offerings, ending a year later on the same day (12, 2–3). During seven days "connecting" iṣṭis (*saṃtani-*). The rest of the half month till the end of Phālguna or Caitra: a series of iṣṭis (indraturīya etc., devikā-havīṃṣi, triṣaṃyukta, Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa iṣṭis) (12, 3–4). In the next month (Caitra or Vaiśākha) during twelve days the twelve ratnin offerings. During the rest of the month: the dīkṣā and upasad days preceding the unction Soma festival which is to take place on the new-moon day (at the end) of the month (12, 7:93. 12–14). On the same day the first of the ten saṃsṛp iṣṭis is performed (p. 111. 15). The seventh and eighth (vol. 3, p. 272. 12f.) of these iṣṭis are performed on the same day, so that (vol. 2, p. 112. 7–18) on the 9th day of the light half of Vaiśākha or Jyaiṣṭha the daśapeya is performed. Then follow the diśām aveṣṭayaḥ, the double animal sacrifice, the sātyadūta-havīṃṣi, the first series of 6 prayujāṃ havīṃṣi, and on the full moon day of Vaiśākha or Jyaiṣṭha the second series of 6 prayujāṃ havīṃṣi (p. 116. 5). Then follow twelve days, during which (p. 116.10) special rules (*vrata-*) are to be observed, and the dīkṣā and upasad days for the keśavapanīya. On the full moon day of Jyaiṣṭha or Āṣāḍha: the keśavapanīya festival. Half a month later on the new-moon day and the following day the two-day festival vyuṣṭi is performed (p. 117.16). Next come three dīkṣā and three upasad days for the concluding Soma festival, taking place on the 8th of the light half of Āṣāḍha or Śrāvaṇa (p. 118.3). On the 9th and the 10th: two series of the devikā-havīṃṣi; on the 11th the traidhātavīya-iṣṭi; on the 12th-14th day preparation for the sautrāmaṇī. The sautrāmaṇī takes place on the full moon day of Āṣāḍha or Śrāvaṇa. The whole adds up to sixteen and a half months (p. 118.7). Or, according to Śālīki, who takes the keśavapanīya as the close of the rājasūya, there are fifteen and a half months (vol. 3, p. 274.5).

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[12] A difficulty is raised by the fact that there seems to be no fixed rule, whether the beginning and the end of the month were marked by the full moon sacrifice (*pūrṇimānta-*) or by the new moon sacrifice (*āmānta-*) (cf. Macdonell-Keith, *V.I.*, 2, p. 158). A clear instance of the pūrṇimānta system is PB. 18,11,8, whereas the corresponding passage TB. 1,8,10,2 adheres to the āmānta system. For the sake of brevity I have taken the dates to refer to the āmānta system.

Kātyāyana. Some confusion is occasioned by the term *māghīpakṣayajanīya-* (15, 1, 3) which here can only mean a "day fit for sacrifice at the end of the preceding month Māgha", i.e. at the beginning of Phālguna. This expression is used for the beginning of the dīkṣā for the introductory Soma festival. This festival, together with its dīkṣā and upasad days and the iṣṭis for Anumati etc., fills out the first, light, half of the month Phālguna. On the new moon day in the middle of the month the cāturmāsyas are begun. The cāturmāsyas end on the first day of Phālguna in the next year (15, 1, 17–19). The first half of Phālguna is filled out with iṣṭis (indraturīya etc.). On the *phālgunīpakṣayajanīya-* the dīkṣā for the unction festival is undertaken (15, 3, 49). Weber explains this as above: after completion of the *dark* (second) half of Phālguna. It seems however unreasonable to assume, as also the commentory does, that *pakṣa-* should only mean the dark half month; it simply is the relevant half month, in this case the light (first) half of Phālguna. Thus the unction festival with its dīkṣā and upasad days begins on the full moon day of Phālguna and ends on the fifth of the second half of this month (15, 4, 2). The saṃsṛp iṣṭis follow; the daśapeya is due at the end of Phālguna on the new moon day. Thus we obtain a block of thirteen months, which, as will be seen, is an adequate symbol for the full time cycle, without the hiatus which Weber (p. 27) presumes.

As to the date of the following Soma festival, the keśavapanīya, Kāty. voices two opinions. The first, also represented by ŚB., prescribes that it takes place a year after the unction (and daśapeya) festivals; the intervening year is filled out by the 12 prayugghavīṃṣi, performed with monthly intervals (15, 8, 28. 9, 26; ŚB. 5, 5, 3, 2). In this case the keśavapanīya marks the end of the whole rājasūya (15, 9, 26). These iṣṭis can also be performed on two subsequent days, and it seems that in this case the keśavapanīya is to take place on (the next) full moon day (probably Caitra) (15, 9, 20). On the subsequent two full moon days then follow the first day of the two-day festival vyuṣṭi, and the one-day festival kṣatrasya dhṛti (15, 9, 22–25). In the next following half month the sautrāmaṇī sacrifice is to be performed.

Hiraṇyakeśin adheres to another system. He gives the central place to the full moon day in the month Taiṣa: "a month and five days before the full moon day in the month Taiṣa he begins the dīkṣā (for the introductory Soma sacrifice), in order that the dīkṣā for the unction festival may begin on the full-moon day in the month Taiṣa of the next year" (13, 3, 2–3).[13] Thus the following scheme obtains:

11–15 Mārgaśīrṣa	introductory Soma-sacrifice,
16	Anumati-offerings,
24	beginning of the cāturmāsyas, then during ten days a number of iṣṭis (indraturīya etc.), as above;
15 Taiṣa	beginning of the unction dīkṣā.

On the last ten days of the dīkṣā year the unction festival, the saṃsṛps, and the daśapeya are due.

It is not clear, whether the daśapeya should be performed on the full moon day of Taiṣa, followed in the dark half of this month by the diśām aveṣṭayaḥ, the double animal sacrifice, the sātyadūta-havīṃṣi, and the two series of prayujāṃ havīṃṣi, or that these iṣṭis together with the unction and daśapeya festivals fill out one (the light) half of Taiṣa (cf. Baudh. and Vārāha ŚS. 3, 3, 4, 23–39, where the half month of unction and daśapeya is completed by these iṣṭis). After a year, in which each morning and evening the agnihotra is performed and no hair cutting is done, the keśavapanīya Soma festival is performed (13. 7, 27–29), followed by the two-day vyuṣṭi festival, the first day of which may be placed on the new moon day at the end of the following half month (13, 7, 33). Five days later the kṣatrasya dhṛti festival is celebrated as the close of the rājasūya proper (13, 7, 34–35), and is then followed up by the sautrāmaṇī festival.

Summing up, it will be observed that the central rājasūya ceremonies cluster round the period of the turning of the year; the unction is everywhere preceded by a dīkṣā year and mostly followed by another year with dīkṣā-like observances, at the end of which again a royal inauguration ceremony takes place. Viewed in this light the rājasūya seems to be an abridgment of what originally must have been an unremitting series of yearly ceremonies with the object of regenerating the universe. The king took a central place in it. The universe had yearly to be recreated and so had the king who, like the common śrauta sacrificer, incorportated the cosmos. Already Hocart[14] ascertained the identity of coronation and cosmogony. In the cyclic conception of the world, the cosmogony-consecration must be repeated over and over again. In the following pages an attempt will be made to analyze the ritual "mechanism" of this process.

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[13] Similarly Vait. 36,2 has the introductory Soma sacrifice performed on the full moon day of Taiṣa. KB. 5,2 considers Taiṣa as the 13th month, i.e. the passing of the old year into the new. Mārgaśīrṣa could however also be considered as the beginning of the year, as evidenced by the domestic ritual (cf. Macdonell-Keith, *V.I.*, 1, p. 426).

[14] Cf. A. M. Hocart, *Kingship* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 189–190.; Eliade, *Traité*, pp. 342 ff.

I

INTRODUCTORY SOMA FESTIVAL (*PAVITRAḤ*)

TB. 1,8,7; MS. 4,4,10:61.6–12; Baudh. 12,1:85.1-4; Āp. 18,8,3; Hir. 13,3,4-5; Kāty. 15,1,4-7.

This Soma festival is called *prāyaṇīya-*, *abhyārohaṇīya-* or *pavitra-*. It is an ordinary agniṣṭoma, as described by Caland and Henry, preceded by one dīkṣā day and three upasad days, so that the whole takes up five days.

It is further specified by the MS., that three sorts of stoma are used in it (triṣṭoma): the stotras sung in the morning service are composed of nine verses, those of the midday service of fifteen, and those of the evening service of twenty-one verses. A special feature of this agniṣṭoma is, that, on account of the sacrificer's being a rājanya, an extra round is added to the twelve normal ones of the agniṣṭoma paradigma; the extra round consists of the offering of the so-called ṣoḍaśin graha and the execution of the śastra and the stotra pertaining to it.[1]

In its technical details this Soma festival is the exact counterpart of the concluding Soma festival, the kṣatrasya dhṛti.

ANNOTATIONS

Some remarks should be made on the names given to this Soma festival. *Prāyaṇīya-* is often to be met with as the designation of the introductory rite to a sacrifice or sacrificial session; the agniṣṭoma, for instance, opens with a prāyaṇīya iṣṭi, likewise the year-long Soma sacrifice begins with a prāyaṇīya Soma day.[2] The word *prāyaṇīya-*, however, not only denotes the introduction to a sacrificial session or a festival, but is also associated with the idea of going to heaven: "through the 'proceeding-day' (*prāya-*

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[1] Technically speaking, this festival is an atyagniṣṭoma. For the rule on the adding of the ṣoḍaśin round for a rājanya cf. TS. 6,6,11,4; Āp. 14,2,10. The ṣoḍaśin round is the last and distinctive round of the ṣoḍaśin Soma festival (i.e. a Soma festival having sixteen, *ṣoḍaśa-*, rounds); the atyagniṣṭoma is formed by adding this last and distinctive round of the ṣoḍaśin festival to the normal agniṣṭoma. For the details of the execution of this round cf. Āp. 14,2-3.

[2] Cf. CH. no. 26; Āp. 21,15,8.

ṇīya-) the gods proceeded (*prāyan*) to the world of heaven: because they proceeded, therefore it is called the proceeding-day".[3] The counterpart of the prāyaṇīya is generally the udayanīya, the concluding rite;[4] in the case of the rājasūya this counterpart is provided by the kṣatrasya dhṛti, which Soma festival is styled by Baudh. udayanīya. Through the udayanīya the sacrificer is supposed to reach the earth again.[5] This idea is also expressed by the term *abhyārohaṇīya-*, mounting (the sky), which has its counterpart in the *pratyavarohaṇīya-*, the descent (to the earth), the name applied by the Vaitāna sūtra (36,10) to the concluding Soma festival. The idea of ascension versus descent will presently appear as most important in the symbolism of the rājasūya.[6]

Another idea seems to be expressed by the word *pavitra-*:[7] "this (Soma festival) is a means of purifying; purified by it he reaches the inauguration (*sava-*)".[8] In this respect the introductory Soma festival seems to come near to the dīkṣā, where the idea of purification plays an important role. In the next following iṣṭis we again meet with notions closely related to the dīkṣā and the conclusion lies at hand, that two ritual forms for inaugurating the year, originating from different sources, but having much the same purport, are accumulated here; the more so as the introductory Soma festival is not mentioned in the ŚB., whereas the TB. and the MS. mention it only at the end of their rājasūya brāhmaṇa in a supplement.

A few words should be added on the significance of the ṣoḍaśin round. We are told that Indra, though being the last-born of the gods, attained the highest place amongst the gods by means of the ṣoḍaśin round.[9] It is a means to surpass "all (that is) here".[10] This quality of the ṣoḍaśin seems to be based on the symbolism of numbers. From such passages as ŚB. 14, 4, 3, 22; 8, 5, 1, 10; ṢaḍvB. 4, 6, 2 it clearly appears, that the sixteenth is an extra element added to a total made up of fifteen parts; by virtue of this quality the sixteenth not only exceeds but also encompasses the preceding fifteen-partite totality. Thus, for instance, the sun is equated to the sixteen-partite stoma on the ground of its being equipped with a fifteen-partite thunderbolt, itself being the sixteenth part (ŚB. 8, 5, 1, 10). The ideas of surpassing and at the same time encompassing are clearly present in the ṣoḍaśin round: it is the last round, surpassing the others – just like Indra, who was the last of the gods, but attained to the highest degree – and at the same time it is a means for encompassing: "with the ṣoḍaśin round as a vajra he encompasses, goes round the cattle".[11] In this connection it may also be recalled of the ṣoḍaśin graha that it is drawn at all three services of the agniṣṭoma,[12] thus in a way resuming them in itself.

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[3] PB. 4,2,2; cf. also KS. 23,8:83.8.

[4] Cf. e.g. CH. no. 255.

[5] KB. 7,8; KS. 23.8:83.10.

[6] The most explicit expression of this idea is to be found in the "mounting of the quarters" rite at the time of the unction, by means of which the sacrificer is supposed to ascend to the zenith; by means of the offerings to the regions and by the arrangement of the stomas of the hair-cutting Soma festival he reaches the earth again.

[7] This term as applied to an introductory sacrifice seems to be used only in the rājasūya.

[8] ŚāṅkhŚS. 15,12,5.

[9] TS. 6,6,11,2.

[10] ŚB. 4,5,3,2.

In this way the rājanya by adding the ṣoḍaśin round to his Soma festival surpasses and at the same time encompasses his equals.

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[11] Cf. AB. 4,1,4. The discussion of the following rites provides an opportunity to go further into this subject. Here we may still cite the explanation given by ŚB. 10,4,1,16 of the number seventeen, often connected with Prajāpati: P. is said to consist of sixteen parts, while he himself is called the seventeenth. Another instance is the case of the 'thirteenth' month, which is said to be as great as the year (KB. 19,2; 5,8).

[12] Cf. TS. 6,6,11,3; AB. 4,4,13.

II

IṢṬIS FOR ANUMATI AND OTHER DIVINITIES

(ANUMATYĀDAYAḤ)

TS. 1,8,1; TB. 1,6,1; MS. 2,6,1; 4,3,1; KS. 15,1; VS. 9,35; ŚB. 5,2,3. Baudh. 12,1–2; Āp. 18,8,10–9,3; Hir. 13,3,13–26; Kāty. 15,1,8–13.

These iṣṭis, though forming separate units, each having its own "framework", form a whole as to their function. They provide a preparation for the coming sacrificial year. As will be shown they are all imbued with the symbolism of (re-)birth: the year and the sacrificer are during this period of preparatory rites (re-)born to resume their course in the recommencing time cycle.

Their number is by the Taittirīyakas explicitly stated to be eight.[1] If we may connect this number with the ideas about the eighth day par excellence, the ekāṣṭaka, which is said to be the proper day for undertaking the dīkṣā for the year-long sacrificial session (the gavām ayana), the number eight seems to be favourable to the conclusion that the iṣṭis are intended to fill out a preparatory period in view of (re-)birth: "the aṣṭakā par excellence is the spouse of the year, during this night, verily, the year dwells with her"; and further, "the aṣṭakā par excellence has by means of tapas given birth to Indra".[2]

It is therefore significant that several of these iṣṭis occur also in the dīkṣā rites, whereby, as is well-known, the sacrificer is ritually reduced to the embryonic state in view of his rebirth through the sacrifice.[3]

ANUMATI AND NIRṚTI; KṢETRIYAM

When the grains of rice are ground for a cake which is to be baked on eight potsherds and offered to the goddess Anumati, some of the rice is caused to fall behind the śamyā (the wooden peg serving as a support for the lower millstone). From this fallen rice a cake is baked on one potsherd to be offered to Nirṛti.

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[1] TB. 1,6,1,11.

[2] PB. 5,9,1–2; TS. 7,4,8,1; AV. 3,10,12; TS. 4,3,11h. In this connection it is worth while to note that at one of the following iṣṭis, the āgrayaṇa, the dakṣiṇā is a bull-calf, born in the week before the *ekāṣṭakā*.

[3] Cf. S. Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 102–108.

Both cakes are prepared at the same time; the one for Anumati by the adhvaryu, the other one, for Nirṛti, by his acolyte, the pratiprasthātṛ (Baudh.). The offering act is performed first for Nirṛti.[4] This act is introduced by a libation of ghee in the gārhapatya fire with the formula: "Go away, svāhā, rejoicing in the oblation".[5] Then the adhvaryu takes a firebrand from the dakṣiṇā fire[6] and leaves the fire-hut in a south-westerly direction, going to a place where the soil is saline by nature (*svakṛta- iriṇa-*) or where the soil is cleft (*pradara-*).[7] There a fire is made with the firebrand and the Nirṛti cake is offered whole – in contradistinction to normal use according to which the cake is divided into several portions – in the fire by means of sticks of visraṃsaka wood[8] or with the thumbs (normally this is done with the sacrificial ladle, the *juhū-*). The formula used on this occasion runs: "This is thy share, O Nirṛti, O thou mighty one; thou art rich in oblation; free him (the sacrificer) from anxiety (or distress) (*aṃhas-*)". Immediately afterwards the dakṣiṇā for the Nirṛti rite, a black garment with a black fringe, is given. Then, after the adhvaryu has poured out water between himself and the Nirṛti fire from a vessel which he thereupon throws away (Baudh.), they[9] return by the same way as they have come to the fire-hut. The Nirṛti episode is closed by a second libation of ghee in the gārhapatya fire with the formula: "Svāhā, honour to him who has done this".

Now the offering of the Anumati cake is performed along the lines of the normal iṣṭi, and the dakṣiṇā connected therewith, a milch-cow, is given.

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[4] Cf. TB. 1,6,1,1.

[5] "Otherwise the fire, having assumed the form of Rudra, would pursue and kill them". TB. 1,6,1,1–2, cf. D. J. Hoens, *Śānti* (Thesis Utrecht, 1951), p. 142. Such libations in the gārhapatya fire are of common occurrence on leaving, and again on returning, to the sacrificial fires; they are intended to give the sacrificer a firm stand, a firm basis (which he is in danger of losing when moving away from the sacrificial fires) (cf. ŚB. 7,2,1,19). The gārhapatya is equated to the earth and (thereby) to a firm stand (ŚB., l.c.).

[6] Baudh.: *antamāgāra-*, probably meaning a profane fire. The dvaidhasūtra (22,16: 129.17) gives as Baudh.'s own opinion the dakṣiṇā fire; Śālīki's opinion is: a profane fire (*grāmāgni-*).

[7] Such places are considered to be the abode of Nirṛti (TS. 5,2,4,3; MS. 4, p. 39,4; TB. 1,6,1,3); plants do not grow there (ŚB. 7,2,1,7).

[8] *visraṃsaka-* not further known; the word is, as Caland observes ad Āp. 18,8,17, suggestive of falling asunder, *visraṃsate*, which certainly will be the effect aimed at.

[9] It is not specified by whom the adhvaryu is accompanied. Cf., however, the parallel Nirṛti rite; Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, no. 296, where the company is formed by the adhvaryu, the brahman priest and the sacrificer.

KS. and MS., followed by Āp. and Hir., know yet another offering. They prescribe that some rice be caused to fall also to the left of the śamyā during the act of grinding. This rice is taken to the north and offered in an anthill, in which a hole is made for the purpose. A shell is used for pouring the rice into this hole. The hole is then covered again with anthill material or with a clod of earth. The formula used for the offering is: "Here I offer (in order to remove it) the hereditary evil (*kṣetriya-*) of N.N., son of N.N.". When covering the hole the formula: "Here I cover the hereditary illness of N.N., son of N.N." is used.

ANNOTATIONS

Anumati (Auspiciousness, Goodwill) and Nirṛti (Dissolution, Decay) present themselves in this iṣṭi as the two opposite aspects, auspicious and dangerous, of one and the same phenomenon. This can be seen when it is considered that for both divinities the same sacrificial substance is used. Moreover, both Nirṛti and Anumati are identified with the earth, Nirṛti representing the earth's evil aspect.[10]

The Nirṛti rite has an exact parallel in the agnicayana, the piling of the fire altar, where a special altar of three bricks is built for Nirṛti to the south-west of the sacrificial compound on a place where the soil is saline by nature or where the soil is cleft.[11] Dealing with this altar for Nirṛti ŚB. 7, 2, 1, 5 says: "When the gods made Prajāpati, who had fallen asunder, fit again, they poured him in the form of seed in the fire pot (as) in a yoni. The fire pot, verily, is a yoni; after a year they prepared this firm stand for him, (to wit) even this terrestrial world; the gārhapatya hearth is the terrestrial world; herein they caused him to be (re-)born; the evil (*pāpman-*), the phlegm, the amnion and the chorion, that they removed from him by means of these (bricks used for the Nirṛti altar)". In the next paragraph this explanation is repeated with the sacrificer taking the place of his prototype, Prajāpati. When viewing the Nirṛti rite of the rājasūya in this light, it appears that the rājasūya sacrificer undergoes a new birth, shedding his embryonic covers, which otherwise would become dangerous to him, under the form of the sacrificial substance offered to Nirṛti. It seems that Nirṛti herself is the personified representation of the cover of the embryo: the black garment given as dakṣiṇā at the Nirṛti rite is called

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[10] For Anumati = Earth, cf. ŚB. 5,2,3,4; TB. 1,6,1,1.4; for Nirṛti = Earth, cf. ŚB. 5,2,3,3; 7,2,1,11; TB. 1,6,1,1.

[11] Cf. Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, no. 296; Āp. 16,15,8–16,5.

Nirṛti's form.[12] The giving away of this garment is another form of discarding the embryonic cover which has become dangerous.

Anumati is Nirṛti's opposite. She is equated to the earth but also to the heaven or the sky.[13] In this respect Anumati seems to be just another form of Aditi, who encloses in her being the earth as well as the heaven (sky).[14] In the mantra TS. 3, 3, 11, o Anumati is called the goddess "in whose lap is the broad atmosphere". This is also a typical characteristic of Aditi.[15]

The opposition Anumati – Nirṛti can be interpreted in this light. Against the narrowness, the distress (*aṃhas-*)[15a] from which, according to the mantra, the Nirṛti-rite should free the newly born sacrificer, is set Anumati, who, like Àditi by whom the gods discerned the zenith, opens the way upwards to the sky.

Let us now proceed to the interpretation of the *kṣetriya-* offering. *Kṣetriya-*, occurring as a "medical" term in the Atharvaveda, is generally understood as: hereditary illness, or illness attracted in the embryonic period.[16] It is (pseudo-etymologically?) connected with the word *kṣetra-*, field, womb.[17] The *kṣetriya-* is also known to us from the birth ritual of the Taittirīyakas; when the child is bathed the mantras TB. 2, 5, 6, 1–3 are recited: "from *kṣetriya-*, from Nirṛti, from wile, from Varuṇa's fetter I release thee...", "... I deliver this (boy) from *kṣetriya-*, from the curse that comes from his kin (*jāmiśaṃsa-*), from wile, from Varuṇa's fetter".[18] The ritual context in which it occurs here suggests that *kṣetriya-* is a designation of the phlegm or the membranes adhering to the newly born, which are removed by the bath. It seems quite natural that these birth leavings should be considered the physical form in which a hereditary illness might attach itself to the child.[19]

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[12] Cf. TB. 1,6,1,4; MS. 4,3,1:39.6.

[13] AB. 3,48,3.

[14] Cf. e.g. TS. 1,5,11t; 4,4,12,o; KS. 23,8:83.19.

[15] Cf. J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 72. Other points showing the similarity of Anumati and Aditi: both are identified with the cow; further Aditi is asked to be auspicious (*anumanyasva*) (cf. Baudh. 13,21:132.2; Caland, *Wunschopfer*, p. 69), which is the essential quality of Anumati.

[15a] On *aṃhas-*, cf. J. Gonda, "The Vedic concept of *aṃhas*", *Indo-Ir. Journal*, I, p. 33ff, concluding that the general idea expressed by the root *anĝh-* has been "primarily that of spatial narrowness in a general sense of the word" (p. 59). In the present case *aṃhas-* may perhaps be taken to refer to the spatial narrowness of the womb from which the sacrificer is set free.

[16] On *kṣetriya-* as a "medical" term, cf. J. Filliozat, *La doctrine classique de la médicine indienne* (Paris, 1949), pp. 93–96.

[17] *Op.cit.*, p. 94.

[18] Cf. HirGS. 2,3,10; ĀpGS. 6,15,4; BaudhGS. 2,1,3; Vaikhānasa Smārta Sūtra (B. I. no. 242) 3,15:46.16. For the mantras cf. AV. 2,10,1.8.

[19] The modern Hindī *kheḍī* or *kherī*, which may well be related to Skt. *kṣetriya-* (cf.

In the present case the birth leavings under the form of the *kṣetriya-* rice must be put away in an anthill. This should, however, not be considered destruction of the *kṣetriya-*. In the ritual texts anthills are often prescribed for the disposal of leavings or surpluses of the sacrificial substance, e.g. surā remains, boiled-over milk.[20] On this latter subject TB. 3, 7, 2, 1 teaches: "If he should offer boiled-over milk, the sacrificer would be without progeny and cattle; if he should pour it out in the wrong place, he would be without an abode. Therefore he should pour it into an anthill, with a mantra addressed to Prajāpati. The ant is related to Prajāpati (cf. TS. 5, 1, 2, 5, where the anthill is considered the ear of Prajāpati – the earth). The sacrifice is Prajāpati. He gives the sacrifice a firm base in Prajāpati."[21] The meaning of this passage seems to be that the powers of fertility, activated by the sacrifice and gone beyond their bounds, in casu the boiled-over milk, are to be brought back within their orbit, or rather they must be placed again in the womb – viz. the earth, of which the anthill is the ear – to serve as the germ of new production (if they should be lost, the sacrificer would be without progeny and cattle).[22] This important function of leavings is further demonstrated by the myth of Aditi, who became pregnant with the Ādityas by eating the remainders of a caru.[23] The hymn AV. 11, 7 exalts the leavings of the sacrifice as the principle on which the whole universe rests. The remainder of the sacrificial substance of the agnihotra is eaten by the sacrificer and the brahman priest with the mantra: "be this sacrificial substance procreative strength (*prajanana-*) to me, giving ten male children...".[24] In this

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H. *kheḍā*, field, as against Skt. *kṣetra-*; on the cerebralizing effect of r on a preceding dental, cf. J. Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, Paris, 1934, p. 57) means "afterbirth, membranes in which the embryo is enveloped, secundines" (J. Platts, *Dictionary of the Hindostanī Language*; Platts, however, not very convincingly derives *kheḍī*, *kherī* from Skt. *kṣarati*, H. *khernā*, to flow).

[20] In this connection it may be of interest that earth from an anthill is mixed in a potion used against excessive secretion (Kauś. 25,6–9).

[21] For the relevant rite, cf. Āp. 9,2,4.

[22] For the earth's having ears, cf. JB, 1,126 and Oertel's comment (*JAOS*, 28, p. 88 ff.). As to the ear conceived of as the female generative organ, cf. J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation* (Zürich-Leipzig, 1937), 1, p. 195; *Aberglauben*, 6,1205, s.v. Ohr. The role of the ants and the anthill in this context can be easily accounted for by their chthonic nature, by virtue of which they are closely connected with the powers of fertility (cf. J. J. Meyer, *o.c.*, 3, p. 219); thus they are reputed to be endowed with the knowledge of the sap of the earth, which they dig up (cf. TB.1,1,3,4; TĀ. 5,10,6; ŚB. 14,1,1,8; AV. 6,100,2). In the same line of thought lies the fact that ants are often regarded as associated with the dead (cf. W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 2,256; ERE, 1, p. 501).

[23] TS. 6,5,6,1; TB. 1,1,9,1.

[24] TB. 2,6,3,5; for the relevant rite, cf. Āp. 4,14,1; 6,11,5. The same mantra is used

connection we may also cite the world serpent Śeṣa (remainder, residue), who remains after the periodic reabsorption of the universe and from whom the creation recommences.[25] It seems to the present writer that this idea of a residue offered or removed in such a way that it becomes the germ of a new productive cycle, underlies also the disposal of the *kṣetriya-*, the birth-leavings, which are represented by the rice fallen to the north of the millstone.[26]

The same idea is perhaps also present in the Nirṛti offering, when we take into account the association elsewhere attached to the *iriṇa-* and the *pradara-*. We read TS. 2, 5, 1, 2–4 that the earth, the trees and the women each charged themselves with a third part of the guilt incurred by Indra when he slew Tvaṣṭṛ's son Viśvarūpa. With the earth this guilt becomes the *iriṇa-*, but in exchange for her taking a part of the guilt, the dug out portions of the earth will grow up again; in the same way the pruning of the trees will result in new shoots, and the women will obtain offspring after the menses. The myth of Indra's "felix culpa" in connection with the *iriṇa-* suggests the same conclusion as in the case of the anthill offering. The *pradara-*, on the other hand, is said by TB. 1, 5, 10, 7 to have come into existence when the asura Prahrāda Kāyādhava threw his son Virocana upwards; and thus the *pradara-* also comes fairly near to the womb concept.

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in the sautrāmaṇī for the eating of the remainder of the Indra offering, cf. Āp. 19,8,12; ŚB. 12,8,1,22.

[25] Cf. J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 151 f.

[26] This can perhaps elucidate Pāṇini's (5,2,92) explanation: *kṣetriyaḥ parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ*, the *kṣetriya-* is to be cured by bringing it to another womb. In this way the rites Kauś. 26,41–27,4 against *kṣetriya-* (on which see Bloomfield, "Hymns of the Atharvaveda", *SBE*, 42, p. 287 f.) can also be explained; the hymn used in it (AV. 2,8) is full of references to the field, plants, ploughing, so much so that Weber (Indische Studien, 5,145) considered the hymn to be a charm to counteract injuries to the fields. Bloomfield, however, is doubtless right in his opinion that "all this is mere play upon the two meanings of *kṣetra-*, field and womb". The agricultural imagery, in my opinion, suggests that the purpose of putting off the *kṣetriya-* is to submit it to another production cycle.

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FURTHER IṢṬIS OF THE ANUMATI-SERIES

The further iṣṭis may be summed up as follows:

OFFERING				DAKṢIṆĀ			
TS.	*MS.*	*KS.*	*WhYV.*	*TS.*	*MS.*	*KS.*	*WhYV.*
a) caru for Aditi	caru in ghee for Ādityas bhuvadvantas	like MS.	—	a) boon (*vara-*)	id.	id.	—
b) cake on 11 potsherds for Agni-Viṣṇu	id.	id.	id.	b) dwarf bull	id.	id.	gold
c) cake on 11 potsherds for Agni-Soma	id.	id.	id.	c) gold	id.	id.	released draught ox
d) cake on 11 potsherds for Indra (acc. to TB. for Indra-Agni)	id. for Indra-Agni	id. for Indra-Agni	id. for Indra-Agni	d) draught ox	id.	id.	id.
e) cake on 8 potsherds for Agni, curds for Indra	id.	id.	—	e) draught ox	linen garment	like MS.	—
f) āgrayaṇa iṣṭi	id.	id.	id.	f) the āgrayaṇa iṣṭi will be dealt with below, immediately after the other offerings.			
g) caru for Sarasvatī caru for Sarasvant	—	—	—	g) pair of oxen	—	—	—

ANNOTATIONS

a) Like the prāyaṇiya iṣṭi already discussed in which an offering to Aditi is the most important element, the present Aditi iṣṭi is concerned with opening up of both heaven and earth for the sacrificer: "the sacrificer will be consecrated with regard to both categories of beings, the divine and the human", as TB. 1, 6, 1, 5 has it. It will further be of interest to keep in mind that Aditi is the mother par excellence; she represents, like Anumati, motherhood in its beneficent aspect.[27] It therefore seems warranted that the purport of this iṣṭi is again the birth which opens the sacrificer's way to heaven. This idea seems also to be stressed by MS. and KS., who prescribe instead of the Aditi iṣṭi an iṣṭi for the Ādityas Bhuvadvantas. Elsewhere this iṣṭi is accounted for by the myth relating the birth of the Āditya Vivasvant.[28] When he was born the other Ādityas cut off from him what was dead (the embryonic covers); what was living, that became the Āditya Vivasvant. It is also interesting that if the sacrificer wishes to obtain offspring or cattle an Aditi iṣṭi can be inserted in the complex of dīkṣā rites in the normal Soma paradigma, the dīkṣā being a typical birth ritual.[29]

b) The cake for Agni and Viṣṇu is identical with the iṣṭi normally performed as part of the dīkṣā rites in the Soma paradigma.[30]

c-d) The next two iṣṭis for Agni-Soma and for Indra-Agni are the same as the offerings at the full- and new-moon sacrifices. Like these latter they are related to Indra's slaying of Vṛtra and the restoration of Indra's force which he lost in his effort.[31] They are also related to the dīkṣā complex: "Having sacrificed with the new- or with the full-moon sacrifice he should, within the compass of this same offering or on the same sacrificial strew, undertake the dīkṣā (for a Soma sacrifice)".[32]

e) The cake for Agni and the curds for Indra seem to have the same background as the preceding iṣṭi for Indra-Agni. The MS. explains both as the restoration of power to Indra after his slaying Vṛtra, or to his ritual counterpart the rājasūya sacrificer.[33]

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[27] To this effect cf. the above discussion on Anumati and Nirṛti; also F. B. J. Kuiper, *De goddelijke moeder in de Voor-Indische religie* (Inaug. Rede, Leiden, 1939); she is considered the mother of Indra, who often is equated with the sacrificer (cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 56; MS. 1,6,12:105. 2; TB. 1,1,9,3).

[28] Cf. Caland, *Wunschopfer*, no. 97. It is interesting to note that acc. to Hillebrandt (*V.M.*, 2, p. 355) Vivasvant occurs in the RV. as an "Ehrenname des gewöhnlichen Opferers".

[29] Cf. Āp. 10,4,4; ŚB. 3,1,3,2–5.

[30] Cf. ŚB. 5,2,3,6.

[31] Cf. ŚB. 5,2,3,7–8; MS. 4,3,1:40.5–13.

[32] AB. 1,1,12.

As to this latter point a remark of another nature should be made. "He who is being anointed with the rājasūya (ceremony) suffers a loss in power and strength" (*ojasā vīryeṇa vyṛdhyate yo rājasūyenābhiṣiñcate*), as the MS. has it. The wording of this passage suggests that the unction has already been performed or is at least simultaneous with these iṣṭis, though in fact the unction is to take place one or two years later. In the course of the ritual we shall meet with similar facts, which taken together warrant the conclusion that the rājasūya originated from yearly recurring royal rites.

f) The āgrayaṇa iṣṭi, which will be dealt with in greater detail below, seems to have no connection with the dīkṣā, but its character as a yearly rite promoting fertility and new birth makes it fit easily into the pattern of the series of iṣṭis under discussion.

g) The offerings to the goddess Sarasvatī and her male counterpart Sarasvant also aim at promoting fertility and new birth. Together, they are "the divine pairing, the divine procreation"; offering to them the sacrificer "obtains pairing".[34] These two offerings are also part of the anvārambhanīya iṣṭi, which marks the beginning of a sacrificer's career.[35] Possibly this will also account for their inclusion in the iṣṭi series marking the beginning of the rājasūya.

OFFERING OF THE FIRST FRUITS (ĀGRAYAṆA IṢṬI)

The offering of the first fruits which is mostly performed as an independent sacrifice, is by all Yajus authorities inserted in the series of iṣṭis which opens the rājasūya. The following is only a description of the main features – the offerings and the dakṣiṇās – as given by the ritual authorities when dealing with its performance as part of the rājasūya.[36]

As a rule this iṣṭi consists of three offerings, as is also taught in KB. 4, 14. According to the TS. these are:

1) a cake on 12 potsherds for Indra and Agni
2) caru for the Viśve Devāḥ

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[33] Cf. MS. 4, p. 40, 1.9–12 and 1.14–19. The rājasūya is often equated to the slaying of Vṛtra, cf. e.g. PB. 18,11,1.

[34] Cf. JB. 2,198; TB. 1,6,1,11.

[35] Cf. Āp. 5,23,5.

[36] For the āgrayaṇa iṣṭi as an independent sacrifice, cf. Hillebrandt, *Rituallit.*, p. 119 f; Keith, *RPhV.*, p. 323 f.; B. Lindner, "Das indische Ernteopfer", *Festgruss für Böhtlingk* (Stuttgart, 1888), pp. 79 ff.; Āp. 6, 29–31.

3) caru of millet for Soma.

MS. and KS. add a fourth offering: a cake on one potsherd for Heaven and Earth. The offering for Soma seems to occupy a separate place. The usual triad seems to be: Indra-Agni, Viśve Devāḥ, Heaven-Earth. At least they are thus dealt with in the brāhmaṇa texts explaining the independent āgrayaṇa, while the Soma caru is mentioned separately.[37] For the Soma offering a separate dakṣiṇā is mostly prescribed. The offerings and the dakṣiṇās connected therewith are according to:

TS.:	cake for Indra-Agni	firstborn bull calf[38]
	caru for Viśve Devāḥ	
	caru for Soma	a garment
KS.:	caru for Soma	a tawny ox (*babhru- piṅgala-*)
	cake for Indra-Agni	firstborn bull calf[38]
	caru for Viśve Devāḥ	
	cake for Heaven-Earth	
MS.:	cake for Indra-Agni	firstborn bull
	caru for Viśve Devāḥ	
	caru for Soma	
	cake for Heaven-Earth	
WhYV.:	(āgrayaṇa, not specified)	cow[39]

ANNOTATIONS

Though the āgrayaṇa iṣṭi occurs also as a seasonal offering related to the crop of the season,[40] it belongs at the same time to those rites which are concerned with the year as a whole, as is here clearly the case. The relation to the year as a whole is made explicit in TB. and MS.,[41] where the twelve potsherds of the Indra-Agni cake are equated to the twelve months of the year.[42] This relation to the year gives the āgrayaṇa its significance as part of the iṣṭi series which forms a preparation for the new year.

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[37] ŚB, 2,4,3 does not mention it at all.

[38] With "firstborn bull calf" (*prathamajo vatsa-*) is probably meant a "bull calf born before the ekāṣṭakā" as in Āp. 6,30,7. Caland notes there: "So wird das zuerst geborene derjenigen Kälber gegeben, die in der letzten Woche des alten Jahres geboren waren".

[39] Acc. to ŚB. 2,4,3,13. This is also a "first-born calf".

[40] Cf. e.g. Baudh. 3,12 where an āgrayaṇa for each season is prescribed.

[41] TB. 1,6,1,10; MS. 4,3,2:41.4.

[42] On the connection of Indra and Agni with the year and on their life-giving capacity, cf. Hillebrandt, *VM.*, 2,265 f.

The āgrayaṇa bridges the gap between the expiring year and the new year. In this way can be understood the custom, mentioned by Āp. 6, 29, 8, of using old rice together with rice of the new crop for the preparation of the offerings. Āp. compares this with putting a tame and an untamed ox under one yoke, and therefore, as it seems, refutes this custom. Nevertheless till the present day offerings of newly harvested rice mixed with old rice are made in the villages of South India.[43]

The underlying idea can be illustrated by the descripton in RV. 3, 55, 5, given in the form of a riddle, of Agni's nature: "Dwelling in the old (plants), waxing in the new ones, he is present at the same time in the newly born young plants." The point at issue in the present rite is to secure the continuity of the fertility in order that the next year may yield abundant crops.[44]

In this connection our attention should also be retained by the firstborn calf, i.e. the calf born before the ekāṣṭakā, in the last week of the expiring year, given as dakṣiṇā. We can interpret this dakṣiṇā as the bridging of the gap between the old year, which in its last week gives birth to the new year, and the new year. This is, as already observed, the significance of the whole series of iṣṭis of which the āgrayaṇa forms a part.

As has been seen, the offering to Soma stands somewhat apart from the other offerings. Soma is the king of vegetation.[45] Now it seems that at this rite which conjures the new growth of the vegetation at the beginning of the year, the king of the vegetation, Soma, should be ritually reborn. When discussing the triṣaṃyuktaṃ havis where an offering to Soma occupies a somewhat similar position among the offerings to other gods, the opportunity will arise of showing that the position of the Soma offering may be linked with the idea of conception and rebirth.

The dakṣiṇā given for the Soma offering is a garment: "As to its divinity the garment is Soma-like".[46] Now the linen garment which the dīkṣita wears is considered also Soma-like, the body of Soma.[47] When it is further taken into account that for one of the seasonal forms of the āgrayaṇa a garment is given which the sacrificer has worn during the rainy season, there seems to be sufficient reason to surmise that the sacrificer, who at the time of this series of iṣṭis is in a way also a dīkṣita, by giving away his garment discards his embryonic cover – the dīkṣita-garment being generally considered thus.[48] Perhaps we may even go further: if I am right in supposing that the āgrayaṇa aims at the ritual rebirth of Soma, the king of vegetation, it would appear that Soma's rebirth is here enacted by the sacrificer giving away his Soma-like garment.

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[43] Cf. S. C. Dube, *The Indian Village* (London, 1955), p. 108.

[44] For the āgrayaṇa as referring to the next year, cf. Oldenberg, *RdV.*, p. 310. In general rites with reference to the first fruits often show this preoccupation with the promotion of further fertility; thus, for instance, the cases in which the first fruits of a tree should be picked by a pregnant woman or by a woman who has borne many children, cf. *Aberglauben*, 2,980–1.

[45] KB. 4,12; TB. 3,9,17,1; MS. 4,3,2:41.13.

[46] TB. 1,6,1,11.

[47] TS. 6,1,1,3.

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[48] TS. 6,1,3,2.

III

THE FOUR-MONTHLY SACRIFICES *(CĀTURMĀSYĀNI)*[1]

The year which has been prepared by the iṣṭi series just mentioned, is filled out by the four-monthly seasonal sacrifices, beginning with the spring sacrifice (the vaiśvadeva sacrifice), performed at the beginning of the year directly after the iṣṭi series. Four months later the varuṇapraghāsa is due, followed after another four months by the sākamedha sacrifice. After each of these seasonal sacrifices the sacrificer has his hair cut and his beard shaved.

The three cāturmāsyas seem to be just one of the possibilities to fill out the year preceding the unction festival, the other possibilities being the saṃsṛp offerings[2] or a year-long Soma dīkṣā. In the course of the fixation process of the rājasūya, however, they became an integral part of it, doubled by the Soma dīkṣā, adding, in the version of Āp. and Hir., an extra year to the rājasūya. This explains that whereas the three cāturmāsyas are not mentioned by MS. – in the brāhmaṇa (MS. 4, 3, 3) only a brief mention of them is made – and KS., their full treatment is given exactly here in the rājasūya by TS.-TB.

As a fourth sacrifice the śunāsīrīya can be added, though it seems that it was originally independent of the cāturmāsyas, which are generally referred to as being three in number.[3] It is mentioned by MS. and KS., where the three original cāturmāsyas are left out of the rājasūya. Perhaps this explains what Āp. means when exempting the śunāsīrīya from the cāturmāsyas in the rājasūya (18, 9, 5): the śunāsīrīya is part of the rājasūya in its own right and should not be performed as part of the cāturmāsyas immediately after the sākamedha sacrifice.[4] The śunāsīrīya will therefore be discussed separately.

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[1] A complete discussion of these sacrifices would go beyond the scope of this monograph, they will therefore be dealt with briefly. For more details cf. Keith, *RPhV.*, p. 321–323; Hillebrandt, *Rituallit.*, p. 115–119; Caland's translation of Āp., book 8.

[2] Cf. VaitS. 36,3.

[3] On the independence of the śunāsīrīya cf. also Oldenberg, *R.d.V.*, p. 442.

[4] Cf. also Caland ad Āp., *l.c.*; on the time for the performance of the śunāsīrīya, cf. Āp. 8,20,1.

In the invervals between the sacrifices Baudh.[5] prescribes the daily performance of "continuity-rites" (*saṃtani-*), to wit alternatively an iṣṭi to Indra the Saviour (Indra Sutrāman) and Indra the Releaser from narrowness, distress (Indra Aṃhomuc). The iṣṭi for Indra Sutrāman is complemented by a dakṣiṇā consisting of a chariot with a padded (seat), with brass plates on both sides and drawn by two mares who are in foal, or by two stallions, and further a pectorale (on a) twisted (cord). The dakṣiṇā for the Indra Aṃhomuc iṣṭi is exactly the reverse: a chariot with unpadded seat, without brass plates, drawn by two mares not in foal, or by two geldings, and further a pectorale (on a) smooth (cord).[6] Besides the saṃtanis, Baudh. prescribes that also āgrayaṇa iṣṭis or animal sacrifices, related to the relevant season, should be performed.[7]

ANNOTATIONS

The cāturmāsya sacrificer "wins" the year, as stated by ŚB. 2, 6, 3, 1. The first consideration is the relation of the year to the ripening of the crops and the procreation of man and cattle: "by means of the year (Prajāpati) caused offspring to be born from him", as TB. 1, 6, 2, 2, dealing with the cāturmāsyas, has it. Prajāpati, the Lord of offspring, is as a rule equated with the year. Further the year is considered the full term of pregnancy.[8] The same idea is brought out by ŚB. 5, 2, 4, 1ff., where the cāturmāsyas are summed up as follows: by the vaiśvadeva sacrifice the creatures are brought forth, by the varuṇapraghāsa they are freed from Varuṇa's fetter and by the sākamedha Vṛtra is slain. The relation of Varuṇa's fetter with the idea of birth and more especially its connection with the embryonic cover can be demonstrated by the TB. passages quoted when dealing with the Anumati-Nirṛti-offering,[9] the slaying of Vṛtra is also associated with birth, as is shown by KB. 15,4 (p. 66, l. 24), where Indra's birth is equated to his slaying of Vṛtra.[10] In this connection the alternating saṃtanis for Indra Aṃhomuc may also be cited, whose name suggests the freeing of the child from the narrowness to which it was confined in the womb, and Indra Sutrāman who secures the safe sojourn of the embryo in the womb.[11] Elucidatory in this respect are the dakṣiṇās (mares in foal and not in foal).

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[5] Baudh. 12,2–3:87.2–11.

[6] In this connection cf. also Āśv. 9,3,5, prescribing to perform in the intervals alternately, the two "wheels" being according to the comm., the new- and full-moon sacrifices.

[7] Cf. Baudh. 12,3:87.11; 26,1:271.7.

[8] Cf. e.g. PB. 6,1,3; 10,1,9.

[9] Cf. the idea of Indra's (and likewise the kṣatriya's) being born in fetters, which subsequently are loosened by Bṛhaspati (cf. Caland, *WO.*, no. 96); cf. also MS. 1,10,10:150.12–13, as guiltless as a newly born child is he, who performs the varuṇapraghāsa sacrifice.

[10] Cf. also ŚB. 14,9,4,22, where the birth process is represented as Indra's breaking through a fence.

On the other hand, as in Vedic thought time and space are not differentiated, the year is not only a time unit, but it connotes at the same time space: "the year is these worlds", "the year is the whole universe (*idaṃ sarvam*)".[12] Thus ŚB. 2, 6, 4, 9 says that the seasons pass the sacrificer on to each other till he reaches the highest place (in the universe). Still more explicit is TB. 1, 4, 9, 5: "by means of the vaiśvadeva (the priest) gives him (the sacrificer) a firm stand in this (terrestrial) world; by means of the varuṇapraghāsa in the atmosphere; by means of the sākamedha in yonder world", adding that "he who thus knowing performs the cāturmāsyas, becomes all this (i.e. the universe)".

The cāturmāsyas can therefore be summed up as the ritual evocation of the universal process of maturing and birth in the vegetable, animal and human spheres through the year; this process is represented as a victorious[13] course through the universe both in respect to time (seasons) and in respect to space (the three worlds), by which the sacrificer encompasses and even becomes the whole of the universe.[14]

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[11] On the epithets *aṃhomuc-* and *sutrāman-* in a general sense, cf. J. Gonda, "The Vedic concept of *aṃhas*", *Indo-Ir. Journ.*, I, pp. 33–60, esp. p. 47.

[12] Cf. e.g. ŚB. 8,2,1,17; 8,7,1,1.

[13] The notion of victory or winning is clearly involved in the cāturmāsyas, as is shown by the many references to it: the sacrificer wins the year (ŚB. 2,6,3,1); he wins the worlds of Agni, Varuṇa and Indra (ŚB. 2,6,4,8); cf. also ŚB. 2,5,4,1; 2,6,1,1; 2,6,2,1; 2,6,4,1.

[14] Suggestive of a march through the universe are also the chariots given as dakṣiṇās at the saṃtanis and Āśv.'s styling the saṃtanis "wheels". We shall meet with yet another expression of the idea of a march through the universe during the year in the saṃsṛp offerings and again most explicitly in the prayujāṃ havīṃṣi.

IV

ŚUNĀSĪRĪYAM, INDRATURĪYAM, PAÑCEDHMĪYAM, APĀMĀRGAHOMAḤ

TS. 1,8,7; TB. 1,7,1; MS. 2,6,2–3; 4,3,3–4; KS. 15,2; VS. 9,35–38; ŚB. 5,2,4,4–20. Baudh. 12, p. 88.20–p. 89.14; Āp. 18,9,5–20; Hir. 13,3,28–37; Kāty. 15,1,19–2,10.

These offerings are performed at the close of the cāturmāsya year, inaugurating the following year. Though separate rites, they form a unity as is shown by the rule that they should be performed on one and the same day.[1]

The sequence of the three latter rites differs according to the schools. TS. has indraturīya, pañcedhmīya, apāmārgahoma; MS. and KS.: indraturīya, apāmārgahoma, pañcedhmīya; WhYV.: pañcedhmīya, indraturīya, apāmārgahoma. They will be discussed in the order given in TS.

Śunāsīrīyam

This iṣṭi, already mentioned when dealing with the cāturmāsyas, takes its name from Indra Śunāsīra, Indra (connected with) the Plough to whom a cake on twelve potsherds is offered together with the offerings to other divinities, regularly occurring at each of the cāturmāsyas. The dakṣiṇā is a plough with twelve oxen.

Indraturīyam

The indraturīya iṣṭi (iṣṭi of which the fourth offering is destined for Indra) consists of four offerings: a cake on eight potsherds for Agni, a caru of gavīdhuka seed[2] for Rudra, sour milk for Indra, and a barley caru for

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[1] Thus Mādhava ad TS. 1,8,8 (B.I., p. 99, line 1). Hir. has the three latter offerings performed on the day after the śunāsīrīya (Āp. and Kāty. are not explicit on this point). Baudh. has them performed on the eighth day after the śunāsīrīya with which they are however linked by the saṃtanis (on which see the above discussion on the cāturmāsyas), filling out the intervening days. Kaṇva seems to perform the śunāsīrīya and the pañcedhmīya on the same day, and to assign the two following days to the indraturīya and the apāmārgahoma (cf. Weber, pp. 16,19).

[2] A wild plant, coix barbata.

Varuṇa. The sequence given is that of TS.; MS., KS. and WhYV. have Indra's offering in the fourth place. The dakṣiṇā is a cow for draught purposes.

Pañcedhmīyam[3]

(Offering on the five kindling sticks)

For this offering, which is a simple libation not requiring the extensive rites of the iṣṭi, the āhavanīya fire is pushed out to the four points of the compass; in the middle a fifth fire is spared. Beginning with the eastern fire, continuing with the southern one and ending up with the fire in the middle, the adhvaryu places in each of these five fires a kindling stick of parṇa, nyagrodha, aśvattha, udumbara and plakṣa wood.[4] Then having ladled five portions of ghee into the offering ladle, the adhvaryu, moving from the east through the south to the north, pours successively into each of the fires a ghee libation, using the following formulas:

"The gods that sit in the east led by Agni, that slay the rakṣas, may they protect us, may they help us, to them homage, to them hail."
(libation in the eastern fire).
"The gods that sit in the south led by Yama, that slay... etc."
(libation in the southern fire).
"The gods that sit in the west led by Savitṛ... etc."
(libation in the western fire).
"The gods that sit in the north led by Varuṇa... etc."
(libation in the northern fire).
"The gods that sit above led by Bṛhaspati... etc."
(libation in the centre).[5]

After these five libations the five fires are pushed together with the formula: "the rakṣas is collected, the rakṣas has been burnt up; here do I burn up the rakṣas". Then the adhvaryu places one kindling stick in the collected fire, ladles five portions of ghee in the offering ladle and makes another set of five oblations with: "to Agni (resp. to Yama, Savitṛ,

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[3] In the WhYV. this rite is called *pañcavātīya-*, related to the five winds or prāṇas (vital forces).

[4] The kinds of wood are specified by Baudh. They are the kinds of wood most fit for ritual purposes: parṇa is equated to the brahman (TB. 1,7,1,9); shoots and fruits of the other trees are used in preparing the beverage destined for the kṣatriya as a substitute for the Soma (cf. AB. 7,30–32).

[5] The gods connected with the quarters differ in the saṃhitās; east and south are in all saṃhitās connected with resp. Agni and Yama; west: Savitṛ (TS.), Maruts (MS., KS.), Viśve Devāḥ (WhYV.); north: Varuṇa (TS.), Mitra and Varuṇa (MS., KS., WhYV.), or Maruts (WhYV.); zenith: Bṛhaspati (TS.), Soma (MS., KS., WhYV.).

Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati-the-worshipful), slayer of rakṣas, svāhā". As dakṣiṇā a chariot with three or five horses is given.

Apāmārgahomaḥ

The pañcedhmīya is performed during the night; at the end of the night "when it begins to dawn, before the morning agnihotra", the apāmārgahoma is due.[6] In this rite the apāmārga plants (achyranthes aspera) are used which are taken from a fold of the ground, where there is stagnant water (*apāṃ nyayana-*). Having taken a fire brand from the dakṣiṇā fire[7] the adhvaryu leaves the firehut in north-westerly[8] direction and makes a fire at a place where the soil is saline by nature or where the soil is cleft. The fruits of the apāmārga plant which are made into groats are then offered into this fire, with a special ladle (sruva) with the formula: "At the instigation of god Savitṛ, with the arms of the Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan, I offer the slaying of the rakṣas." With the words: "the rakṣas is slain", the adhvaryu throws the sruva into the fire, which he then honours with the words: "we have slain the rakṣas". As dakṣiṇā the sacrificer gives the garment he is wearing (TS.) or a boon (MS., KS.; the WhYV. does not mention a dakṣiṇā).

Then, after the adhvaryu has poured out water between himself and the fire and thrown the water vessel away (Baudh.), they return to the fire, without looking back.

The apāmārgahoma, as appears from the above, bears a strong resemblance to the Nirṛti rite.

These three ceremonies can also be performed independently: the indraturīya as a means for obtaining victory in battle (MS.) or for eliminating a rival (Āp.); the pañcedhmīya in case one fears the action of rakṣases and piśācas (Hir., Āp.) or for curing illness (Kāty.); the apāmārgahoma in case one fears evil (*pāpman-*) (Hir.) or in case one is menaced by black magic (Kāty.).

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[6] Thus the Taittirīyakas, cf. TB. 1,7,1,6–7. MS. and KS. give the apāmārga first, then the pañcedhmīya, apparently intending to have the apāmārgahoma performed in the evening after the evening agnihotra, and the pañcedhmīya during the night, as Hir. 13,3,31.33 actually prescribes. The position of the two rites in Hir. and Vārāha (3,3,1,16–24) is peculiar; both texts first simply mention the pañcedhmīya, then give the rules of the apāmārgahoma and only then those for the pañcedhmīya. The meaning of this arrangement is probably that the apāmārgahoma in this version forms part of the pañcedhmīya.

[7] Baudh. again as in the case of the Nirṛti offering: *antamāgāra-*.

[8] TB. only says "in this direction"; Āp. and Hir. interpret this as the north-west; Baudh. as the north. MS. and KS. prescribe the south; ŚB.: north or east; Kāty.: "as at the tryambaka offering" (i.e. north) (cf. Kāty. 5,10,4.9). Cf. also Caland on Āp. 18,9,17. Acc. to the WhYV., VS. 9,37 should be recited where Agni is called upon to slay the enemies; this can account for the easterly direction prescribed in the WhYV., as this direction suits Agni better than the northerly direction, generally assigned to Rudra.

ANNOTATIONS

Śunāsīrīyam

The śunāsīrīya iṣṭi marks not only the close of the cāturmāsya year, but, like the āgrayaṇa iṣṭi, also and in the first place the transition to the new year. "By means of the śunāsīrīya iṣṭi one obtains the thirteenth month; the thirteenth month is as great as the year; through the thirteenth month one obtains the whole year."[9] The thirteenth month is here the extra element added to a totality, which encompasses the totality and at the same time is the principle of its reproduction. This can be seen from ŚB. 8, 4, 1, 19 where we are told that the thirteenth month is the embryonic year which (re-)enters the seasons. The rebirth of the year implies that man also is reborn: "The overlord released one month for the creatures; thereby he brought them a great thing: immortality for the mortals; in offspring thou shalt be reborn; that is for thee, mortal one, immortality", as the formula at the hair-cutting ceremony after the śunāsīrīya has it.[10]

The śunāsīrīya will originally have been an agrarian rite connected with the first ploughing of the year.[11] To this origin the name and the dakṣiṇā (a plough) still point. Keeping in mind the interrelation of ploughing and the sexual act[12] it is easily seen that the śunāsīrīya intended to secure the efficient action of the powers of fertility throughout the new year, resulting in new crops and new birth in the animal and human spheres.[13] Though the brahmanic ritualists have almost entirely stripped the rite of its agrarian décor, its agrarian symbolism seems to survive in the speculations on the thirteenth month, which symbolizes the regeneration of the new year out of the past one as well as the regeneration of the whole universe.

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[9] KB. 5,8; 19,2; cf. TB. 3,8,3,3.

[10] TB. 1,5,5,6. For the ritual context cf. Āp. 8,21,1.

[11] Cf. Hillebrandt, *V. M.*, 2, pp. 199 ff.

[12] Cf. e.g. van der Leeuw, *La Religion*, p. 88. Indra, who is here associated with the plough (if that at least is the meaning of *śunāsīra-*, cf. Hillebrandt, *l.c.*), and who elsewhere is known as the "lord of the ploughland" (*urvarāpati-*, RV. 8,21,3), is often to be recognized as a phallic deity. Cf. Meyer, *Trilogie*, 3,159 ff.; Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 29.

[13] Cf. also MS. 4,3,3:42.10, where the śunāsīrīya iṣṭi is recommended for one who is in need of rain; also: RV. 4,57,5, where Śuna and Sīra, conceived of as two deities, are implored to sprinkle the earth with the heavenly fluid.

Indraturīyam

The name of this iṣṭi implies more than the simple fact that one fourth of this fourfold iṣṭi is destined for Indra. The brāhmaṇa texts connect it with Indra's victory over Vṛtra or over the Asuras. Agni helps Indra in gaining his victory by manifesting himself in three forms – Agni, Varuṇa, Rudra – and by extending himself with these three forms over the three worlds – earth, atmosphere, sky – in order to protect Indra from these three positions,[14] thus imitating, though in a protective sense, Vṛtra's menacing activity. Indra then joins the triple Agni and, being the fourth, gets the fourth part of the iṣṭi. What the fourth place and the fourth part mean in terms of cosmology can be seen in a passage like ŚB. 14, 8, 15, 4 "that which is burning beyond space, that is the shining fourth (*turīya-*) quarter of the gāyatrī". The gāyatrī is a metre made up of three groups of eight syllables each, its "shining fourth part" – the reference is clearly to the sun – therefore surpasses it in the most literal sense.[15] The conclusion lies therefore at hand that the word indraturīya implies that Indra, by virtue of his fourth place, rises triumphantly above the three worlds.

The fact that Indra's offering, according to TS., occupies the third place instead of the fourth place, need not contradict this conclusion. This seems to convey the idea of Indra's being protected on all sides; as in the case of the pañcedhmīya, where the fire in the centre represents the zenith, Indra's central position connotes his occupying the highest place among the others.[16]

Excursus on the symbolism of numbers. The significance of the indraturīya can be best appraised in the light of the symbolism of numbers, or in the words of Bergaigne, "l'arithmétique mythologique".[17] The present writer is under the impression that numbers have no specific value in themselves. By virtue of this neutrality they are able to take a great variety of meanings. In this way a number can give expression to the interrelation of conceptually different notions and entities. It is, in my opinion, on this quality that the magic value of a number is based: it is the symbol summing up an illimitable variety of entities which belong to different conceptual levels, moulding them into one complex. The number provides the magic key for mastering all entities united in the complex. Vedic thought makes this conception of the magic function of numbers explicit when it stresses the importance of the *saṃpad-*, the numerical congruence of different entities by virtue of which they coïncide.[18] Thus, for instance, the rites connected with the Soma purchase during the construction of the fire altar provide the number twelve; as these rites are concerned with Agni, the fire (-altar), this number is the *saṃpad-* connecting Agni with the year (twelve months).[19] As a further instance we may cite ŚB. 9, 5, 2, 8 where it is said that a certain hymn consisting of 7 stanzas makes one reach all that is sevenfold (the layers of the fire-altar, the seasons, regions, worlds of the gods, etc.).[20]

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[14] MS. 4,3,4:42.17 f.

[15] Cf. ŚB. 4,6,1,4: "Prajāpati, surpassing these (three) worlds, is the fourth". Cf. also L. Renou – L. Silburn, "Sur la notion de brahman", *JA*, vol. 237, 1 (1949), p. 11, n. 1, who suppose that *turīya-*, by way of its association with the root *tṝ-*, to pass, connotes "au-delà".

[16] It is tempting to suppose that with similar considerations lies the origin of the third, fourth, sixth or other part of the crop, due, acc. to the śāstras, to the king.

[17] Cf. Bergaigne, *La religion védique* (Paris, 1878–83), 2, p. 114–156.

As a number is in itself neutral, the size of the number is irrelevant. Besides the usual three strides of Viṣṇu, the third of which is not even reached by the birds,[21] we find also mention of Viṣṇu's four strides, the fourth being in this case the highest and mysterious one.[22] Prajāpati is associated with the numbers sixteen, seventeen, twenty-one, and also other numbers are associated with Prajāpati.[23] The essential point is the formation of the number, rather than its size. In the formation of such a number the outstanding feature is the principle of the element added to a totality.[24] We already observed this feature in the ṣoḍaśin round of the introductory Soma festival and concluded there that the extra element summarizes and encompasses the totality number to which it is added. Viewed in this light there is no tautology when, for instance, it is said that the year is eighteen-fold: twelve months, five seasons, and the year itself as the eighteenth element. The year as the eighteenth element encompasses the seventeen months and seasons.[25]

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[18] On *saṃpad-*, cf. Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte* (Göttingen, 1919), p. 113, n. 2; A. Minard, *Trois Énigmes sur les Cent-Chemins* (Lyon, 1949), nos. 201,202; L. Silburn, *Instant et Cause* (Paris, 1955), pp. 61,67.

[19] Cf. ŚB. 7,3,1,4.

[20] Cf. also KB. 9,3.

[21] Cf. Oldenberg, *R.d.V.*, p. 229.

[22] Cf. Āp. 4,14,6–8, and Caland's notes.

[23] Cf. e.g. ŚB. 1,3,5,10; 7,2,2,17; 6,2,2,3.

[24] On this principle, cf. Bergaigne, *o.c.*, 2,123 ff.

[25] Oldenberg (*Weltanschauung*, p. 49, n. 2), discussing the relevant passage ŚB. 8,4,1,13, misses the point when explaining: "das Jahr als Einheit ist ein Wesen von anderer mystischen Natur als die Zwölfheit der Monate".

At the same time the summarizing element represents the new birth, the recommencement of the totality's unfolding as is strikingly shown by the speculations on the thirteenth month, which as an embryo enters the seasons again, cited above.[26] The totality number seems to be closely connected with the concept of the womb, from which the embryo springs and in which it again and again enters to be reproduced.

On the mythological plane this has been worked out in the pattern of one male god surrounded by a number of female goddesses conceived of as his mothers, sisters or wives. Such is, for instance, the case with Rudra Tryambaka, Rudra with the three "mothers" (*ambā-*, *ambikā-*).[27] Another instance can be seen in the case of Dhātar and the four (or two) devikās.[28]

On the cosmological plane a similar procedure is applied to numbers referring to the parts of space (earth, atmosphere, heaven; the points of the compass and the centre or zenith) and the divisions of time (seasons, months, the year). It can also be applied to notions of yet another conceptual plane, such as parts of the body and the ātman, and sets of ritual acts, sacrificial implements, metres, etc.

Now, as already observed above, all of these conceptual planes can be united under the seal of a number.[29] Thus for instance the three sacrificial grass bundles used in the vaiśvadeva sacrifice[30] are assimilated, by virtue of this number, to the three worlds, to the triad father, mother, son, and to amnion, embryo and chorion.[31] This example is significant in that it shows us also the role of the third, extra element as the principle of regeneration and continuity. We shall therefore be justified in considering that when a triad, tetrad, pentad or other number of entities of any category is mentioned, also entities of other categories which can be articulated on the same number, such as the embryo and its covers – the number of the covers being variable, as we shall see later on – are implied.[32] The extra element added to a number of entities will therefore easily fall in line with the embryo concept. When this principle is applied to the indraturīya, we may safely assume that Indra's triumphant rise above the three worlds implies also his birth.[33]

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[26] In this respect the extra element added to a number coïncides with the concept of the rest. A mythological example may illustrate this. Besides the seven sons of Aditi an eighth is mentioned, Mārtāṇḍa (cf. Oldenberg, *R.d.V.*, p. 178, n. 2; Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 43 f.). Aditi resorts with the seven first Ādityas to the gods, throwing the eighth, Mārtāṇḍa, away; but only to reproduce him "for (alternating) regeneration and death" (RV. 10,72,8–9). The eighth Āditya is therefore the one by whom continuity of the cosmic process is secured; at the same time he is the remainder which can be dangerous (he is *mārtāṇḍa-*, sprung from the dead egg) and is thrown away to be reproduced, that is to become the principle of continuity.

[27] Cf. K. T. Johansson, *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣaṇā* (Uppsala, 1919), p. 90; E. Arbmann, *Rudra* (Uppsala, 1922), p. 295 f. Johansson, in my opinion, overstresses the importance of the number three of the goddesses; other numbers are possible as well; materials for the numbers four and five, Johansson, *o.c.*, p. 25.

[28] Cf. the next chapter, Devasuvāṃ Havīṃṣi, Annotations.

[29] In this connection I may also refer to the classification systems known from the literature and religion of Java and Bali, where series of cosmological entities (gods, points of the compass, colours, jewels, metals etc.) are classed together in a specific number of groups (e.g.: Īśvara, East, white, diamond, silver), each group being connected with a division of the universe. It is to be noted that the entities classed together with the Centre represent the higher unity, the summary of the others. Cf. J. L. Swellengrebel, *Korawāśrama* (Thesis Leyden, 1936), Inleiding pp. 29 ff.; Th. Pigeaud, "Javaanse wichelarij en classificatie", *Feestbundel Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 1929, 2, p. 273–90.

[30] Cf. Āp. 8,1,11.

In the following discussions we shall frequently meet with number as the multivalent symbol uniting a complex of conceptually different entities. When stressing that aspect of the complex which refers to birth and continuity, it is not intended to suggest that the embryo and its covers are the original and basic concept underlying the whole complex. But continuity and new birth are professedly the primary concern of the ritual which is governed by the idea of the "(re-)birth out of sacrifice". In centering discussion on this important trend in brāhmaṇa speculations, which in later Indian thought grew even into an overriding obsession, we shall be perfectly in keeping with the spirit of the ritualistic philosophers.

Before ending this excursus on the symbolism of numbers, I should like to call attention to the grouping of iṣṭis or parts of an iṣṭi, where the numerical symbolism seems also to function. Thus KB. 4, 14 states that the āgrayaṇa iṣṭi comprises three offerings, as there are also three worlds, while also the idea of new birth is clearly present in it. The size of the number is indifferent so that when four offerings are prescribed for the āgrayaṇa, this makes no difference. The same can be said of the three (or four) cāturmāsyas, the number of which links them to the seasons, the worlds and the birth process.

Pañcedhmīyam

This rite confronts us with another clear instance of mythological (or rather ritualistic) arithmetic. Under the seal of the number five, entities of different natures are grouped together: the five fires into which the āhavanīya is divided; the four points of the compass and the centre (zenith); the gods presiding over the points of the compass. We may safely assume that the embryo and its covers are also implied in this complex, as can be shown by TB. 1, 7, 1, 4–5. Explaining the pañcedhmīya rite this passage says: "Prajāpati created the sacrifice; when it was created, the rakṣases sought to kill it; Prajāpati produced from himself these gods (viz. the gods invoked in the libation formulas); by these gods he drove the rakṣases away from the regions." The newly created sacrifice, like a new-born child, is exposed to the attacks of the rakṣases.[34] In this connection we may also cite the myth that Indra on his birth was pursued by the rakṣases; at the moment that they were about to seize him, he entered the fire which by its sparks drove the rakṣases away.[35] So the idea of birth appears to be directly involved in the present rite, which seems to fall in line with the rites concerned with the protection of the newly born one. As already seen above, the regions (points of the compass) correspond to the covers of the embryo.[36] The gods presiding over the points of the compass and the rakṣases driven off by them "from the regions" seem to coïncide with the embryonic covers, whereof they then represent between them the protecting and the opposing dangerous aspects.

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[31] Cf. TB. 1,6,3,1; TS. 6,5,6,3 the same is said with reference to the three verses with which the Āditya-graha is drawn in the Soma sacrifice; cf. also ŚB. 6,5,3,3.5 with reference to the three lines engraved on the fire pot (*ukhā-*).

[32] Against this background it will also readily be understood why the embryos are said to reside in the atmosphere (cf. ŚB. 4,5,2,13; PB. 4,8,13): the embryo and its covers are put on a par with the atmosphere surrounded by heaven and earth.

[33] This conclusion is further fortified by the fact that Indra's victory over Vṛtra, as we have already observed, is linked with his birth.

To the pentads, referred to above, the WhYV. version of this rite adds yet another: the five winds and man's five vital functions (*prāṇa-*). In the WhYV. the rite is named *pañcavātīya-*, "related to the five winds", and ŚB. 5, 4, 2, 9 actually refers to the five prāṇas.[37] This addition in the WhYV. does not alter the picture drawn above. Also in this case the connection with birth exists, as can be shown by the birth ritual of the

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[34] The rakṣases are specially notorious for their aggressiveness against newly born children. Meyer (*Trilogie*, 1,136) suitably calls them "Wesen, die Kinder schaffen" as well as "Kindlifresser". To this effect, cf. AV. 8,6; 4,37,11; RV. 10,162,5; MānGS. 1,11,9. At the birth of a child they are propitiated with offerings of chaff and husks (cf. PārGS. 1,17,23; HirGS. 2,3,7).

[35] Cf. Caland, *W.O.* no. 76. Agni is generally known as the slayer of the rakṣases, cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 163 f.

[36] Cf. also AV. 1,11,2: "Four (are) the regions of the sky, four also of the earth; from there the gods brought together the embryo; let them unclose her (the mother) (or: unclose it, the embryo) in order to give birth".

[37] The pañcavātīya rite can therefore be performed as an independent rite for curing illness, i.e. to readjust the prāṇas (cf. ŚB. 5,4,2,10). The relation of the fires (the kindling sticks) with the prāṇas is, however, given directly in a passage like AB. 2,4,3–4: "(the hotṛ) worships the kindling sticks, the kindling sticks are the prāṇas; the prāṇas make all that is here (in the world) burn; then he satisfies the prāṇas; he places the prāṇas in the sacrificer".

WhYV., part of which is a rite for placing the prāṇas in the embryo: five brahmins are placed towards the five regions and breathe upon the child; or the father himself may perform the breathing by walking round the child.[38]

Viewed in a wider perspective the present rite may be considered the enacting of the cosmological drama on the stage of the āhavanīya fire which is linked up with the cosmos, the cosmic man, Prajāpati and the human man, the sacrificer.[39] All of the terms – fire, cosmos, Prajāpati, sacrificer – are connected because of their being articulated on the number five (five fires, five regions, five groups of gods sprung from Prajāpati, five prāṇas). The adhvaryu, pushing out the fires to the points of the compass and moving clockwise (*pradakṣiṇa-*) round them, makes the cosmos unfold and enacts the rotation of the cosmic powers of which the sacrificer forms the pivot;[40] then recollecting the fires, he symbolically performs the resorption of the cosmos in its centre. At this critical moment of the year's turning, the recommencement of the processes of fertility and growth are, by their ritual enactment, safeguarded against their own evil, rakṣasic aspect – the rakṣases being representative of the evil aspect of fertility rather that independent powers in their own right –, which is "slain", "pushed together" and "burnt up" in the efficacious functioning of the same processes.

Apāmārgahomaḥ

This rite, as may be seen from its description, shows a striking resemblance to the Nirṛti rite, and this similarity in form may well be taken to stand for a similarity of purpose. The apāmārgahoma will therefore be yet another ritual idiom for the discarding of the embryonic covers or, as stated here, to drive off the rakṣases.

This conclusion can also be derived from other considerations. The magical working of the apāmārga plant seems to reside in the peculiarity of its fruits which are described as "turned backwards".[41] This peculiarity of the apāmārga-plant takes on a specific significance when compared with those passages which link conception and birth with the forward (eastern) and backward (western) directions: "forward the semen is impregnated, backward offspring are born";[42] "Turned backward (to the west) he makes the oblation (at the karamba iṣṭi); thus, being turned backward, he frees himself from Varuṇa's fetter".[43] The apāmārga offering can therefore be interpreted as follows: in the same way as the apāmārga fruits, the embryo is born backward and puts off Varuṇa's fetter (the embryonic cover) backward (towards its place of origin). In this connection it is interesting that the dakṣiṇā, according to the Taittirīyakas, is the garment which the sacrificer is wearing (at the time of the ceremony); the sacrificer literally lays off his cover, in the same way as he did in the Nirṛti rite and the āgrayaṇa iṣṭi.

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[38] PārGS. 1,16,10–16.

[39] Agni (whose most powerful manifestation is the āhavanīya fire) is the "*bandhu-* of the sacrifice", i.e. "l'ensemble des connexions rituelles" (cf. L. Silburn, *Instant et Cause*, Paris, 1955, p. 33).

[40] When dealing with the chariot drive we shall return to the theme of the cosmic rotation and discuss its generating effect.

[41] *pratīcīnaphala-*, ŚB. 5,2,4,20. Cf. also Caland ad Āp. 18,9,16. Thus, for instance, it can be used for turning back the effect of an incantatory rite upon its author. Also the (pseudo-etymological?) association with the root *apa-mṛj-*, to wipe off, plays a role.

The apāmārgahoma is by TB. and MS. also brought into relation with the myth of Indra's freeing himself from Namuci. Indra's contract with Namuci not to kill him either by day or by night is reflected in the moment at which the apāmārgahoma is performed: the morning- or evening-twilight belonging neither to the day nor to the night. Later on, when dealing with the king's stepping on the tiger skin before the unction, we shall again come across the Indra-Namuci myth; already now we may suggest the birth motif as a possible interpretation of the myth.

To sum up it may be stated that the indraturīya, the pañcedhmīya, and the apāmārgahoma form, as to their purpose, a unity: after the cāturmāsya year a new year, implying new birth, sets in with the śunāsīrīya iṣṭi; the three immediately following iṣṭis are connected with it for the purpose of safeguarding the new birth and eliminating the rakṣasic powers.[44]

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[42] TS. 5,2,10,2; 6,4,10, 4; TB. 2,5,7,3.

[43] TB. 1,6,5,5; for the karamba iṣṭi cf. Āp. 8,6,23.

[44] Thus ŚB. 5,2,4,7.12.14: by means of these three rites the gods safeguarded against the rakṣases what they had conquered by the cāturmāsyas. MS., on the other hand, considers the indraturīya as the conquering rite while the two following offerings protect the victory against the rakṣases (MS. 4, p. 43, lines 2,14,18). Perhaps this grouping of the offerings originated from numerical considerations, the WhYV.-version being based on the number four (three + one) and MS.'s version on the number three (two + one).

V

DEVIKĀ-HAVĪṂṢI, TRIṢAṂYUKTAṂ HAVIS, IṢṬIS FOR VAIŚVĀNARA AND VARUṆA

TS. 1,8,8; TB. 1,7,2; MS. 2,6,4; 4,3,5–7; KS. 15,3; ŚB. 5,2,5. Baudh. 12, p. 89.15–90.11; Āp. 18,10,1–11; Hir. 13,3,38–44; Kāty. 15,2,11–20.

In the same way as the preceding offerings belong together, the iṣṭis discussed in the present chapter form a whole. According to Mādhava, commenting TS. 1, 8, 8 (B.I. p. 99), these iṣṭis should also be performed on the same day, though this is not the practice recorded by the sūtra authors.[1]

As we shall be able to observe the present iṣṭis are also concerned with the regeneration of the year and of the powers of fertility.

Devikā-havīṃṣi

This iṣṭi is prescibed in the BlYV. only. It is performed in the morning (directly after the morning agnihotra) after the night in which the pañcedhmīya and apāmārga offerings have been made, and is composed of five offerings: a cake on twelve potsherds for Dhātṛ and four carus for the devikās Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvalī and Kuhū.

Baudh. splits the devikā-havīṃṣi into two iṣṭis, performed on two subsequent days; the first consists of the offerings for Anumati, Rākā and Dhātṛ, the second for Sinīvalī, Kuhū and again for Dhātṛ.

The dakṣiṇā consists of a cow- and a bull-calf, which by Baudh. are of course divided over the two days.[2]

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[1] Cf., however, comm. ad Hir. 13,3,43: *paśor abhāve devikānantare athavā pañcāpy anvaham pākṣikam sūtrakāramatāt.*

[2] MS. and KS. prescribe a four-year-old cow (*paṣṭhauhī-*, this word is not quite clear, cf. Macdonell-Keith, *V.I.*, 1, p. 511; Baudh.'s comm. Bhavasvāmin explains it everywhere as: a cow which, though fit to bear young, has not yet been in calf). Hir. gives as the opinion of some (authorities): a cow described as *pravītā pravīyamānā;* and by Hir.'s comm. it is explained as a cow that has recently calved or one that is in calf. (Perhaps we should read here *pravītā-apravīyamānā*, a cow that has been impregnated once and since has not been impregnated again; analogous to a *sūtavaśā-*, cow barren after having calved once.)

Through the devikā-havīṃṣi the fulfilment of various wishes can be obtained: offspring, cattle, a village (*grāma-*); continuity of sacrificial activity; recovery from a long-lasting illness (*yo jyog āmayati*); (mental) vigour (*medhā-*); splendour (*ruc-*).[3] The nature of the wish seems to determine the time of the Dhātṛ offering before, in the middle, or at the end, of the offerings for the female devikās.[4]

According to MS. (4, 3, 6:45.4), followed by Āp. and Hir., this iṣṭi can be accompanied by an animal sacrifice in honour of Dhātṛ.[5]

Triṣaṃyuktaṃ havis

or the threefold intertwined sacrifice, consists of three iṣṭis of three offerings each. Each of the three iṣṭis concentrates upon respectively Viṣṇu, Soma, Pūṣan. TS. gives them in the following order:

1.	a cake on	11	potsherds for	Agni and Viṣṇu	dakṣiṇā:
	,, ,, ,,	11	,, ,,	Indra and Viṣṇu	dwarf beast of burden
	,, ,, ,,	3	,, ,,	Viṣṇu	
2.	a cake on	11	potsherds for	Agni and Soma	dakṣiṇā:
	,, ,, ,,	11	,, ,,	Indra and Soma	brown (ox)
	caru		,,	Soma	
3.	caru		for	Soma and Pūṣan	dakṣiṇā:
	,,		,,	Indra and Pūṣan	black (ox)
	,,		,,	Pūṣan	

In the WhYV. the Soma series of offerings occupies the third place, while the three iṣṭis as a whole are more uniform, the principal god being combined in each series with Agni and Indra respectively, and the first offering of each series being a cake baked on 11 potsherds; the two others carus. MS. and KS. prescribe only two series: for Viṣṇu and for Pūṣan.

The three iṣṭis are performed on three subsequent days (Hir., Baudh.) or on one and the same day (WhYV.).

Each of these three iṣṭis can be connected with a special wish: resp. continuity of sacrificial activity, male offspring, and cattle (Hir.); or: a village, priestly lustre and cattle (Āp.).[6]

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[3] Cf. also Āp. 13,24,5.

[4] Cf. TS. 3,4,9; MS. 4,3,5–6; KS. 12,8.

[5] Similarly the devikā-havīṃṣi are performed in the Soma paradigma in connection with the sacrifice of a barren cow for Mitra and Varuṇa (cf. CH. no. 257).

[6] Caland (ad Āp. 18,10,6) supposes that only one of the three iṣṭis, chosen according to the special wish of the sacrificer, sufficed. The specifications about the wishes seem to me, however, to refer to the independent performance of the triṣaṃyukta, as a kāmyā iṣṭi. Moreover we may expect that fulfilment of all three wishes is exactly what is aimed at by the royal sacrificer.

Iṣṭis for Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa

The two following iṣṭis are the offering of a cake baked on twelve potsherds for (Agni) Vaiśvānara and a caru of barley for Varuṇa. Āp. and Hir., following MS., specify that the dish in which the Varuṇa caru is to be prepared should measure a span in height as well as in width.

These two iṣṭis are performed on two subsequent days (Hir., Baudh.) or on one and the same day (Mānava);[7] the WhYV. leaves the choice open.

The dakṣiṇā for the Vaiśvānara iṣṭi is gold; for the Varuṇa iṣṭi a horse (BlYV.).[8] The WhYV. prescribes as dakṣiṇās a bull and a black garment (or a garment of any other colour, in case a black one is not available).

The iṣṭis clearly belong together, as the brāhmaṇa texts link them up with each other. Also outside the rājasūya, offerings for Agni Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa are found to be combined.[9]

ANNOTATIONS

Devikā-havīṃṣi

These deities are essentially concerned with fertility[10] or, in more precise terms, with conception and birth. They play an important role in the domestic ritual connected with conception and birth. Dhātṛ is credited with the placing of the embryo[11] – a sphere of activity which seems to be also especially proper to at least one of his female partners, Sinīvalī[12]; he is also asked to give a husband to the unmarried woman.[13] It is also interesting that the inviting and offering verses used for these offerings – TS. 3, 3, 11 g–u – are also used in the sīmantonnayana rite performed during the first pregnancy[14] and in the birth ritual.[15] Dhātṛ and his female companions represent the procreative union of the husband and his wives[16] in its double aspect of conception and birth. Both aspects are differentiated by the place Dhātṛ's offering occupies among those for the goddesses: if the offering to Dhātṛ is made in the midst or at the end of the other offerings, the reference is to conception; if his offering is made first, before the others, to birth.[17] In the first case Dhātṛ is the male who enters the females, to be born from them and come again to the fore, as represented in the second case.

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[7] In this case the two offerings form one iṣṭi (*samānatantra-*) (cf. also Hir. 13,3,44).

[8] KS. specifies that the horse should be reddish-brown (*babhru-*). Acc. to MS.: *aśvo 'vyuptavaha* (cf. also MS. 2,5,9:59.8). Caland renders this: "ein Ross mit auf der Schulter nicht abgescheuerten Haaren". Perhaps it is intended that the horse should not have been ridden or harnessed, so that the hair on the shoulders is intact (cf. Hir. 13,3,44: *yogyo 'śvo 'vyuptavaha vā*).

[9] Cf. Caland, *W.O.*, nos. 19,20.

[10] On the devikās cf. J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 226 ff.; Johansson, *Dhiṣaṇā*, p. 71 f.

[11] Cf. BĀU. 6,4,21; TS. 3,3,11h; TB. 1,7,2,1.

[12] Cf. J. Gonda, *l.c.*

[13] Cf. AV. 4,60,3.

[14] Cf. HirGS. 2,1,2–3.

[15] Cf. HirGS. 2,4,9; ĀśvGS. 1,14,3.

[16] Cf. MS. 4, p. 44.15: "the goddesses are the women, Dhātṛ is the male".

Here again we can observe the workings of the symbolism of numbers. There are the four goddesses complemented by the fifth regenerating unit, the male Dhātṛ.[18] This numerical pattern connects them with the articulations of space and time: they are equated to the four directions and Prajāpati;[19] the four goddesses are the four phases of the moon and Dhātṛ is the moon entering them;[20] to this complex can be added the metres (goddesses) and the vaṣaṭ-call (Dhātṛ)[21] and obviously also the embryo and its covers. At this moment of the rājasūya, on the verge of a new year, the universe must be regenerated, the forces of the sacrifice which govern it must be set in motion again: "after a year's time the metres are exhausted for the Soma sacrificer; the devikās are the metres; (the adhvaryu) sets the exhausted metres in motion again", as the MS. (4, p. 44.4), explaining the devikā-havīṃṣi in the rājasūya, has it. So the threatened continuity is safeguarded by the procreative union of the male and female elements ritually activated by means of the offerings to Dhātṛ and the goddesses, who by virtue of their numerical connections with the articulations of the universe extend their procreating activity over the whole of it.[22]

There is still another point which deserves our attention. The MS. passage quoted above continues: "the adhvaryu should cause the sacrificer who *has been anointed* with the rājasūya to make the offerings to the devikās". Viewed in its context this passage seems to suggest that the origin (or one of the origins) of the rājasūya lies with a scheme of Somic rites sustaining the course of the year, at the end of which a yearly recurrent unction was performed concluded by such offerings as the present, intended to secure continuity.[23]

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[17] Cf. MS. 4, p. 44.14 ff. Conception and birth are actually conceived of as two sides, two directions of the same process; when dealing with the apāmārgahoma we saw that they are connected with resp. the eastern and western direction.

[18] The number four can alternate with the numbers two and three; two of the goddesses and Dhātṛ is the pattern which Baudh.'s version of these offerings shows. Cf. also Hillebrandt, *NVO.*, p. 155, where we find instances of two, three or four of these goddesses with Agni Gṛhapati as their male partner.

[19] Cf. ŚB. 9,5,1,38–39.

[20] TS. 3,4,9,6. For the moon in connection with female deities, procreation, vegetation etc. cf. Meyer, *Trilogie*, 3, p. 311 (index, sv. Mond).

[21] TS., *l.c.*

[22] This will also be the reason why we find the devikā offerings also recorded at the end of the rājasūya (Baudh. 12,20:118,5) as well as at the end of other sacrifices, e.g. the agniṣṭoma (cf. CH. no. 257).

Triṣaṃyuktaṃ havis

The meaning of these triads of offerings is best shown by MS. (4, 3, 7:45. 18–20): "By means of the first triṣaṃyukta (the Viṣṇu triad) he (the priest) holds these worlds for him (the sacrificer) from here upwards; by means of the last triṣaṃyukta (the Pūṣan triad) he holds these worlds hitherward (again). They are for keeping apart these worlds..." "By means of the first triad he impregnates the seed; by means of the last he causes to be born" (p. 46, line 1–2).[24] Thus the triṣaṃyukta confronts us with the two directions (upward and downward) of the arranging of the universe coïnciding with the microcosmic correspondence of this process, the two phases of procreation (conception and birth).[25] The upward and downward arranging of the universe seems to envelop a third element, the intermediate space, where the embryo and offspring are said to reside.[26] Though this third element is not given expression in the quoted MS. passage – MS. prescribes only two triads of offerings –, it turns up in the other versions of the triṣaṃyukta under the form of Soma, and it is significant that TB. 1, 7, 2, 3 qualifies Soma in this context as the fertilizing agent (*retodhās-*). We may compare the position of Soma here with Dhātṛ's position among the female divinities, whom he enters to be born from them. In the same line of thought lies also Soma's role in the āgrayaṇa-iṣṭi where the offering to him occupies a particular place among offerings to two or three other divinities. In the āgrayaṇa he may be left out, as is also the case with MS.'s version. Perhaps we should take him then as the mysterious, unarticulated power, an *aniruktam* presiding over the whole compound.[27] In short: Soma may be considered here as the extra element bringing about regeneration and continuity.

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[23] This may also account for the fact that directly after the śunāsīrīya and following rites, a set of other rites, the devikā-havīmṣi and other iṣṭis, are recorded, which have exactly the same purpose. The doubling appears to originate from two different ritual conceptions of the year: the cāturmāsya year and the Somic year, which have also given rise to the doubling of the year preceding the unction festival acc. to Āp. and Hir.

[24] For the role of Viṣṇu in the conception, cf. BĀU. 6,4,21. Pūṣan has a part in marriage and birth ritual (cf. RV. 10,85,37; AV. 1,11,1.3).

[25] For the two directions, sides of procreation cf. the annotations above on the devikā-havīṃṣi.

[26] ŚB. 4,5,2,13; PB. 4,8,13; TB. 1,6,2,5.

[27] In this connection it is significant that seed (AB. 6,27,8) and the intermediate space (ŚB. 1,4,1,26) are *anirukta-*. Prajāpati, the lord of offspring, is also conceived of as *anirukta-* (ŚB. 8,7,3,12).

An interesting feature which may be retained is the idea of the cosmic rotation underlying the two phases, referred to above. Conception and birth are brought about by a rotatory (upward and downward) movement encompassing the two poles of the universe, heaven and earth, and enclosing in its round the intermediate space where the embryo is said to reside.[28]

A somewhat different picture seems to arise from the speculations in the ŚB. on the triṣaṃyukta: by the first triad (Viṣṇu) the sacrificer establishes contact with the human beings (*puruṣa-*), integrates them in himself (*tān evaitad saṃspṛśate, tān ātman kurute*) and finds a firm support in them (*teṣv evaitad antataḥ pratitiṣṭhati*); by the second (Pūṣan) he does the same with respect to cattle; and by the third (Soma) with respect to priestly lustre. It seems as though the sacrificer concentrates in himself the three forces, emblematic of the three varṇas and constituting the social universe of Vedic India: dominion, cattle and priesthood.[29] The different outlook of the ŚB., however, seems easily to rejoin the other one: society and space are but two aspects of the cosmos, and they are connected by their being both articulated on the number three. At this particular moment, the joint between two years, when disintegration and dispersion are imminent, the restructuring of space and the concentration of the social forces, effected through these triads of offerings, prevent the powers involved from dispersion and direct them towards new production.[30]

Agni Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa

Agni Vaiśvānara seems to be essentially concerned with the processes of fertility. In some stanzas of the RV. he is identified with the "tree of life".[31] The epithet Vaiśvānara can quite plausibly be explained as "related to him, who possesses the total amount of vital strength".[32] Being here, as often, identified with the year – the twelve potsherds of his cake represent the twelve months of the year[33] – he presides over the year-long processes of maturing and birth: Agni Vaiśvānara – the year – Prajāpati created offspring and in imitation thereof the rājasūya sacrificer, offering the cake to Agni Vaiśvānara, creates offspring.[34] Then, by means of the Varuṇa offering, he frees the offspring from Varuṇa's fetter.[35] These two iṣṭis seem particularly suited to the turning of the year; they secure the year-long fertility process.

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[28] Later on, when dealing with the chariot drive, we shall meet again with the representation of the engendering cosmic rotation.

[29] Cf. also the wishes which may be realized through each of the triads: a village, cattle, priestly lustre.

[30] Also in the ŚB.'s version the central triad (Pūṣan) is concerned with procreation (ŚB. 5,2,5,8).

[31] RV. 1,59,1–2; 4,5,1.

[32] F. B. J. Kuiper, *Mededelingen der Kon. Ned. Ak. van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde*, N.R. 14,5 (1951), p. 221. For Agni Vaiśvānara as the semen, cf. ŚB. 7,3,1,35.

[33] ŚB. 5,2,5,15.

In the centre of this process stands the sacrificer; for in the words of MS. it is the sacrificer's own person (*ātman-*) that is freed from Varuṇa's fetter.[36] In other words it is the sacrificer himself who, being identified with Vaiśvānara – the year – Prajāpati, propagates himself, is reborn. In this connection the following passage of the MS. (4, p, 46. lines 15ff.), dealing with the present offerings, is worthy of note: "Vaiśvānara is the year, he (the adhvaryu) gives him (the sacrificer) a firm stand in the year, he makes him live for a year's duration; therefore the teeth of one who has been anointed with the rājasūya (ritual) fall out (after a year) with old age, for he establishes him in the year, he makes him live for a year's duration". This passage is strongly suggestive of the decay of the fertility genius at the end of the year, and its revival in the new year.[37] Now Agni Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa can both be considered such divinities.[38] They are impersonated here by the rājasūya sacrificer,[39] in whose decay and revival the processes of fertility in the cosmos are centered. The present iṣṭis, connecting the two year cycles, bring about the renewal of these processes.

Before concluding we may, as in the case of the devikā-havīṃṣi, point to the fact that here, in the MS. passage quoted above, the rājasūya unction is again referred to as already completed; a fact leading to the conclusion that the origin of the rājasūya lies in a yearly recurring ritual pattern.[40]

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[34] Cf. ŚB. 5,2,5,14.

[35] For the sequence: birth – freeing from Varuṇa's fetter, cf. above, the cāturmāsyas. We have already observed the connection of Varuṇa's fetter with the covers of the embryo (the umbilical cord?). In this connection it may be noticed that a (black) garment is given as dakṣiṇā for the Varuṇa iṣṭi which apparently represents the discarded embryonic cover, as in the case of the Nirṛti and apāmārga rites. The significance of the horse dakṣiṇā possibly lies in the same sphere; the horse's shoulder hairs being intact, as specified by MS., means that he is free from, or has shed, evil (*vyāvṛttaḥ pāpmanā*, MS. 2,5,9:59.9). For *pāpman-* as related to the embryonic covers, see the discussion of the Nirṛti offering. Saddle and harness were perhaps associated with the idea of Varuṇa's fetter.

[36] MS. 4, p. 46. line 20; this is the reason why the dish for Varuṇa's caru should measure one span in every direction, this being the measure of the ātman. The span is also mentioned as the measure of the embryo (ŚB. 7,5,1,14).

[37] On the decay and revival of fertility demons cf. e.g. Meyer, *Trilogie*, 1,1–4, and the literature cited there.

[38] On the renewal of the fire, having grown old at the end of the year, cf. Hillebrandt, *V.M.*, 1,92. For Varuṇa, cf. Meyer, *Trilogie*, 3,225 ff.

[39] It may be noticed that Agni Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa are also, like the sacrificer, "anointed kings", as MS. 4, p. 46, lines 10–11 in this connection expressly states, of resp. the seasons and the gods. RV. 6,9,1 compares Agni Vaiśvānara overcoming the darkness with the king being born (*jāyamāno na rājā*).

The iṣṭis discussed in this chapter can again be summed up as a group of rites intended to bring about the cosmic rebirth, the renewal of the year and the cosmic processes bound up with it. They seem to have a special connection with the Soma ritual and particularly with the rājasūya form of it, as can be deduced from the above annotations. Perhaps they were originally assigned the function of providing the link between subsequent year-long Somic cycles.

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[40] Acc. to Vārāha 3,3,4,56 offerings for Agni Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa are prescribed again at the end of the whole rājasūya.

TS.-TB.					*Sequence according to*		
ratnin		*deity*	*offering*	*dakṣina*	*MS.*	*KS.*	*WhYV.*
1st day	brahman or: purohita (KS. WhYV.)	Bṛhaspati	caru	white-backed ox	1 brahman	same as MS., but without takṣa-rathakāra	senānī
2nd day	rājanya or: rājan (MS. KS.) or: sacrificer (WhYV.)	Indra	cake on 11 potsherds	bull	2 rājan		purohita sūyamāna
3rd day	mahiṣī (first consort)	Aditi	caru	cow	3 mahiṣī		
4th day	vāvātā (TB.) (favourite)	Bhaga	caru	four-year old cow, conspicuously in calf.	4 parivṛkti		mahiṣī
5th day	parivṛkti (superseded consort)[6]	Nirṛti	caru of black rice broken by the nails.[7]	black cow with broken horns, or: reddish-white mutilated (?*apa-sphura-*) cow (MS), or: same with broken horns (KS.) or: black, worn-out, ill cow (WhYV.)	5 senānī		sūta
6th day	senānī (commander-in-chief)	Agni, or: A. anīkavant (WhYV.)	cake on 8 potsh.	gold	6 saṃgrahītṛ.		grāmaṇī
7th day	sūta (charioteer, equerry)	Varuṇa	cake on 10 potsh.	great castrated (ox) or: reddish-brown ox (MS., KS.) or: horse (WhYV.)	7 kṣattṛ		kṣattṛ
8th day	grāmaṇī, or: vaiśya-grāmaṇī (WhYV.) (village-headman, troop-commander)	Maruts	cake on 7 potsh.	dappled cow, or: dappled ox (WhYV.)	8 sūta		saṃgrahītṛ
9th day	kṣattṛ[8] (chamberlain, charioteer)	Savitṛ	cake on 12 or 8 potsh.	speckled ox, or: reddish-white[9] ox (MS. KS.), or: reddish-white draught-ox (WhYV.)	9 vaiśya-grāmaṇī		bhāgadugha
10th day	saṃgrahītṛ (collector, charioteer)	Aśvins	cake on 2 potsh.	two cows feeding the same calf[10], or: twin bull-calves or two bull-calves born after each other (WhYV.)	10 bhāgadugha		akṣāvāpa-govikarta
11th day	bhagadugha[11] (divider, collector)	Pūṣan	caru	black ox	11 takṣa-rathakāra		pālāgala
12th day	akṣāvāpa (and govikarta, MS. KS. WhYV.) (surveyor of the dicing-hall, and slaughterer)[12]	Rudra	caru gavīdhukā (coix barbata)	speckled ox with raised tail (?*udvāra-*)	12 akṣāvāpa-govikarta		parivṛtti
	Further are mentioned by:						
	MS.:						
(11th day)	takṣa-rathakāra (carpenter and cartmaker)	Viṣṇu	cake on 3 potsh.[13]	iron utensils[14]			
	WhYV.:						
(11th day)	pālāgala[15]	Adhvan (the road)	ghee-libation	1. leather-coated (?*pyukṣṇa-*) bow 2. leather quivers with arrows 3. red turban or: three quivers with arrows or a bow wrapped in reed (Āp., Hir.)			

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[6] Acc. to the WhYV. the parivṛktī (there called parivṛttī) is driven out of the king's realm after the Nirṛti offering. Acc. to Sāyaṇa she has to take refuge in a brahmin's house. ŚB. 5,3,1,13 defines her as a consort who has not given birth to a son.

[7] *nakhanirbhinna-*, *nakhāvapūta-*; technically speaking this means that husking and grinding are not performed according to the normal iṣṭi paradigma (cf. Hillebrandt, *NVO.*, pp. 28,32). Further Āp. and Hir. prescribe that the dish for the caru should measure a thumb's length in all directions. Acc. to Kāty. this offering can be performed as a simple libation (darvīhoma) accompanied by the words "This, o Nirṛti, is thy share, rejoice in it". (Hir. also has the libation form).

[8] The comm. give different meanings; besides chamberlain and charioteer: treasurer, messenger, or even factotum (*sarvakārin-*) (cf. A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, 8, p. 289). All translations of the ratnin names are only tentative. Cf. also Macdonell-Keith, *V.I.*, 2, p. 199 f.; A. Hillebrandt, "Königsrecht", *ZDMG.*, 70 (1916), pp. 45 ff.

[9] *śyeta-*; acc. to ŚB. 5,3,1,7 the colour of the sun, when rising or setting.

[10] *savātyau*; the rendering given above acc. to Bhavasvāmin (cf. Baudh. ŚS., vol. 3, Index, p. 107). Sāyaṇa ad TB. 3,1,6,2: two cows of the same mother. In any case the essential quality seems to be that they form a pair united by their having the same mother, or the same calf.

[11] Acc. to Mādhava ad TS. 1,8,9 (B.I., p. 105) the collector of the king's share. Baudh. (26.1:272.1) explains it as *mahānāsika-* (cook, carver) or *yo bhāgalābhī dogdhi* (collector whose charge is met by a share in the produce). Bhavasvāmin: surveyor of the royal herds (*gopālaka-*).

[12] Acc. to Āp. in the house of one of these two dignitaries. Kāty.: in the house of the sacrificer, the materials being provided by these dignitaries.

[13] Hir.: in the house of the akṣāvāpa or the govikarta the Viṣṇu offering; in the house of the takṣan or the rathakāra a cake on 11 potsherds for Agni.

[14] MS., KS. and WhYV. prescibe other dakṣiṇās each consisting of three gifts, among which regularly recur objects wrapped in or made of horse hair (sword, halter or strangling noose, dice box), and a male animal. (For more details cf. Āp. 18,10,21–23.)

[15] Acc. to Āp. 18,10,23 this word means *anṛta-dūta-* (Caland: "Lügenbote, der die Lüge, d.h. die im Lande umhergehende Lüge, dem Fürsten zu melden hat".) We may set it against the sātyadūta, on which see sātyadūta-havīṃṣi and the annotations below.

VI

RATNIN OFFERINGS (*RATNĪNĀṂ HAVĪṂṢI*)

TS. 1,8,9; TB. 1,7,3; MS. 2,6,5–6; 4,3,8–9; KS. 15,4; ŚB. 5,3,1,1–2,3. Baudh. 12,5; Āp. 18,10,12–11,1; Hir. 13,4,1–14; Kāty. 15,3,1–39.

On the next and subsequent days[1] a series of iṣṭis sets in, which are performed each in the house of one of the ratnins – dignitaries, and members of the royal household, bearers of the royal treasures.[2]

For the purpose of these iṣṭis the ratnins, acc. to Baudh., take up their residence near the place of sacrifice, settling down in a half circle from south to north or from west to east. For each of these iṣṭis the sacrificial fires are collected and caused to "mount" the fire drill sticks[3] and reproduced by drilling in the house of the ratnin and divided over the three hearths. All materials for the iṣṭi are provided by the ratnin in whose house it is performed. When it is completed, the sacrificial fire is brought back to the central place of sacrifice in the same way as it was brought to the ratnin's house.

The ratnins and the iṣṭis performed in their houses are listed below. I have followed the sequence given in TS. and TB.; to the right the sequence given by other schools may be found. The main differences can be summed up as follows: TS. and KS. enumerate eleven ratnins; TB., MS. and WhYV. have twelve ratnins, consisting of the eleven ratnins of TS. and KS., adding to them either the vāvātā (TB., on the fourth place) or the takṣa-rathakāra (MS., on the eleventh place) or the pālāgala (WhYV., on the eleventh place). Baudh. follows, as always, TB.; Āp.

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[1] The day on which the ratnin offerings are started is, acc. to Baudh., the new-moon day at the end of the month Phālguna (or Caitra); Hir. and Kāty. have these offerings performed in the first, light, half of resp. Taiṣa or Phālguna.

[2] The name *ratnin-* seems not to refer to jewels or regalia; the ratnas are the functions held by the royal dignitaries and the members of the royal household; they are the constituent parts of the government. For the translation "receiving gifts" (Macdonell-Keith, *V.I.*, 2, p. 199), though possible, evidence is lacking.

[3] For the relevant rite, the samārohaṇa ceremony, cf. Āp. 6,28,8 ff. The fire can also be transported by means of burning fire brands, as is Baudh.'s opinion here (Baudh. 22,17: 141.7).

and Hir. do the same but add the takṣa-rathakāra, taken over from the Maitrāyaṇīyas, and the pālāgala, from the WhYV.

As a counterpart to the iṣṭis in the houses of the ratnins, which are given in the list, an iṣṭi in which a cake on eleven potsherds is offered to Indra Sutrāman and another such cake to Indra Aṃhomuc, is prescribed by the BlYV. The dakṣiṇā for this iṣṭi is a bull or, according to some (non-identified) authorities, a pectoral (*niṣka-*) or a cuirass (*kavaca-*). Whereas Āp. and Hir. place this iṣṭi at the end of the whole series and have it performed in the sacrificer's own house, Baudh.'s version is that it should be performed daily after the return to the central place of sacrifice and that it consists alternately of an eleven-potsherd cake for Indra Sutrāman or for Indra Aṃhomuc.

Instead of these offerings for Indra Sutrāman and Indra Aṃhomuc the WhYV. prescribes a caru (to be offered in the house of the sacrificer, acc. to Sāyaṇa ad ŚB. 5, 3, 2, 1) for Soma and Rudra, prepared in the milk of a white cow, feeding a white calf, and which is given as dakṣiṇā.[4]

In the BlYV. an essential part of the present rites is the pronouncement of the wish: "May this our king, having become a slayer of Vṛtra, slay Vṛtra." This wish is pronounced, according to Baudh., by the ratnin in whose house the offering has been made, when the sacrificer returns to the central place of sacrifice. Hir. and Āp., however, insert the wish in the iṣṭi for Indra Sutrāman and Indra Aṃhomuc.[5]

ANNOTATIONS

The ratnin episode is one of the few parts of the rājasūya that are directly and exclusively related to kingship. Even of the unction, the central feature of the rājasūya, this cannot be said. In the ratnin episode the sacrificer is referred to as *rājan-* instead of, as is usual, *yajamāna-* or *sūyamāna-*.[16]

The theme with which the present iṣṭis are concerned is the relation of the king to his subordinates, who represent the constituent elements of royalty. Defining this relation the TB. states that the ratnins are the givers and takers of the realm (*pradātāraḥ*; *apādātāraḥ*), "they extend to him the realm". The MS. calls them the "limbs" (*aṅga-*) of dominion (*kṣattra-*).[17] These elements, or "limbs", which together make up the kingship, must be concentrated, integrated by the king, or in the words of the ŚB. he makes the ratnas his own in order that they will not leave him (*svam anapakramiṇam karoti*). The king in this situation may be compared with Prajāpati as presiding over the eleven-fold animal sacrifice (ekādaśinī). We are told that Prajāpati after his creative activity is exhausted; and that his creatures, offspring (*prajāḥ*) go away from him; the disintegrated Prajāpati is then restored, filled again (*āpyāyate*), by means of the eleven-fold – mark the correspondence with the eleven ratnins – animal sacrifice, the *prajāḥ* return to him and the vital functions (voice, food, cattle, etc.) are reintegrated in him.[18] Like Prajāpati, the king integrates the dispersed elements, the "limbs" of the kingship, tying them together in his person. As may be expected, this idea is also borne out by the numerical arrangement of the ratnin offerings: "these (offerings or ratnins) number eleven; the triṣṭubh metre has eleven syllables; the triṣṭubh is vital force (*vīrya-*);[19] he stands firm in the vital force; he obtains the differentiated (*nānā*) blessings of these (offerings or ratnins);[20] if he would make these offerings together they would be non-ratnins (i.e. they would form an undifferentiated mass). (The sacred tradition has it that) a cake on eleven potsherds for Indra should be offered in the house of the king; Indra is the vital force (*indriya-*); together verily the blessing of (this) sacrifice is established in the sacrificer, for the sacrificer is Indra".[21] The gist of this passage is that the king correctly articulating the ratnas on the number eleven makes them efficacious; and, being himself the extra element, encompasses and integrates in his person the elements of royalty, the ratnas, and their cosmo-mythological correspondents, the gods to whom is offered,[22] and thus becomes efficient, possessed of vital force.

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[4] The Soma-Rudra iṣṭi may, acc. to Kāty., also be performed independently by a brahmin who, though being learned, has not yet gained prestige (*yaśas-*), and by one who suffers from eruption of the skin.

[5] Āp. has the adhvaryu pronounce it before the sviṣṭakṛt oblation (cf. Hillebrandt, *NVO.*, p. 117); Hir. adds it to the hotṛ's sūktavāka (cf. Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, p. 145).

[16] As often, the ŚB. shows greater uniformity, using consequently the style *sūyamāna-* in its discussion of the ratnin offerings.

When dealing with the symbolism of numbers it has already been seen that the extra element is often the principle of regeneration, the male element entering the female ones as an embryo (e.g. Dhātṛ with regard to the devikās). This idea seems also to be present in the case of the king entering the houses of the ratnins in turn, as may be shown by a parallel representation concerning Āditya, the sun: of Āditya, anointed for kingship, we are told that he took from the elements of the cosmos their distinctive powers – from the heaven power, from the stars dominion, from the atmosphere body (*ātman-*), from the wind form, etc. –, integrating these powers in himself. For this purpose he visited them, as the JB. has it, as a husband his wives.[23] In this way we can conveniently define the bond established by these offerings between the king and his subordinates as a 'hieros gamos'. Another fact pointing in the same direction is the offering to Indra Sutrāman and Indra Aṃhomuc which two gods are (as was seen when dealing with the connecting offerings between the cāturmāsyas) easily to be connected with conception and birth. Also the wish that the king may be a slayer of Vṛtra seems to bear evidence to the same effect, the killing of Vṛtra symbolizing Indra's birth. In the WhYV. we find instead of the offerings for Indra Sutrāman and Indra Aṃhomuc an offering to Soma and Rudra; the sacrificer is then compared to the sun being in the grip of the eclipse demon Svarbhānu and liberated by Soma and Rudra. Here too the idea of birth put in terms of solar symbolism – a symbolism that seems quite adequate in the context of the ratnin offerings – can easily be recognized.[24]

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[17] TB. 1,7,3,1; MS. 4, p. 47.3.

[18] On the ekādaśinī rite, cf. Āp. 14,5–7; ŚB. 3,9,1,1 ff.; MS. 4,7,8; TS. 6,6,5. This sacrifice is recommended for the purpose of the restoration of a banished king.

[19] Cf. also MS. 4,7,8:103.12; dealing with the ekādaśinī sacrifice this passage says that by this sacrifice Prajāpati once more obtains the eleven *indriyāṇi vīryāṇi*.

[20] The "blessing" (*āśis-*) refers probably to the wish for the king's slaying of Vṛtra, and which, acc. to Baudh., is uttered by the ratnins from whose house he returns.

[21] MS. 4, p. 48.9–12.

[22] On the king's uniting in himself the "jewels" and their divine prototypes, cf. A. M. Hocart, *Kingship*, p. 116. For the king as made up from parts of the gods, cf. Mānava DhŚ. 7,5.

The interpretation of the ratnin offerings as the establishing of a marriage-like bond between the king and his subordinates becomes the more probable when we consider that the relation of the king to the people at large (*viś-*) is conceived of as pairing. This can be clearly observed when, for instance, comparing AV. 3, 4, 2: "thee let the people (*viśaḥ*) choose unto kingship, thee these five directions; rest at the summit of royalty, at the pinnacle; from thence, formidable, share out good things to us", with the parallel passage TS. 3, 3, 9e where the reference is not to king and people but to bull and cows.[25] This pairing implies that the king is also born from the people, as is evidenced by those passages calling the king the embryo of the people.[26] Here in the ratnin episode, however, we are mainly concerned with the aspect pairing or conception, represented by the king entering the houses of the ratnins; the counterpart to the ratnin episode may be found in the proclamation of the king before the ratnins (during the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi) by which ceremony his birth is signified; it may also be found in the game of dice in which king and ratnins participate and which is linked with the present episode by the inclusion in it of the akṣāvāpa and the cow slaughterer.

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[23] JB. 2,26 (Caland, *Auswahl*, no. 117). The parallel with the ratnin offerings becomes the more striking when we take into account that acc. to Baudh. the ratnins are settled in a row from south to north or from west to east, thus imitating in a way the sun's stations on its course throughout the year or its course during the night. That the nightly course of the sun should be imitated instead of its daytime course, seems to indicate that there we are concerned with the king entering the ratnins, his conception rather than his birth from them.

[24] Cf. also Caland, *W.O.*, no. 40. For Soma and Rudra as generators of offspring and cattle, cf. *W.O.*, no. 45.

[25] Cf. also ŚB. 13,2,9,6, where the royal power and the people are equated to the male and female generative organs.

Hitherto the ratnins have been treated as a whole. Now we shall endeavour to give a more detailed account of the composition of the ratnin list. In the first place we must refrain from considering their names as clues giving information on the actual organization of the royal government. Here, in their ritual context, these personages are rather to be considered symbols of various phenomena. In this way we can account for the different and often contradictory explanations of the ratnin names given by the commentators. A single instance may suffice to illustrate this. The saṃgrahītṛ is said to be a charioteer but also a tax collector. There is, however, a clear coherence between both explanations: holding the reins of a chariot is, symbolically speaking, the same as holding the "financial reins of the realm".[27]

The ratnin list completely lacks a clear-cut system. Royal consorts, governmental or household dignitaries, and artisans are incoherently mixed up in the list. To all appearance different systems have become confused, possibly under the influence of a system of congruencies based on the number eleven or twelve, carried through in the articulation of the ratnin list and superseding other numerical systems.[28] What the original system might have been can be seen in the aśvamedha where the royal consorts are, though not brought together in a ratnin list, classified together with categories of priests, charioteers and headmen, and the points of the compass, all connected, as it seems, by the number four. The four royal consorts are joined by four groups of attendants: the mahiṣī by daughters of rājas, the vāvātā by daughters of rājanyas, the parivṛktā by daughters of sūtas and grāmaṇīs, the pālāgalī by daughters of kṣattṛs and saṃgrahītṛs.[29] Further four groups of guardians of the sacrificial horse during its year-long ramble are mentioned: sons of rājas, of rājanyas, of sūtagrāmaṇīs, of kṣattṛ-saṃgrhītṛs. These four groups are addressed as the guardians of the (four) quarters of space, and are brought near the horse from the four points of the compass by the four chief priests.[30] The four chief priests, on the other hand, are connected with the four consorts which are given to them as dakṣiṇās.[31]

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[26] Cf. PB. 2,7,5; ŚB. 5,3,4,11; MS. 4,4,9: 60.19.

[27] For the comparison: yoking the chariot – "yoking" the kingdom, cf. TS. 3,4,8,2. For the comparison reins – tax-collecting, cf. JUB. 1,44,5: "the sun has a thousand rays (or reins, *raśmi-*); these are yoked; by means of them he takes all this".

[28] The number eleven is expressly stated by ŚB. 5,3,1,12 to be the number of the ratnas; for the purpose of maintaining this number and the *saṃpad-* implied by it (the triṣṭubh, the 11 indriyāṇi vīryāṇi), the akṣāvāpa and the govikartṛ are made into one ratna (*saṃpadaḥ kāmāya*, ŚB. 5,3,1,10). The Taittirīyakas set great store by the number twelve, this being the number of the months of the year (TB. 1,7,3,6).

In the ratnin list several such groups can be discerned, though their coherence, the classificatory system connecting them, is lacking or perhaps has been lost. First a group of royal consorts can be discerned: mahiṣī, parivṛkti, vāvātā. The pālāgala seems to be closely connected with the pālāgalī, one of the four royal consorts in the aśvamedha. A similar conclusion may hold good in the case of the bhāgadugha. This functionary is called by Baudh. (26, 1:272.1) *mahānāsīka-*, which term may be connected with *mahānāsī* (*dāsī*), a name of the fourth consort in the aśvamedha.[32]

Secondly there is a group of charioteers and other personages related to the chariot: sūta, grāmaṇī, kṣattṛ, saṃgrahītṛ, takṣa(n), rathakāra. The senānī also seems to belong here: ŚB. 7, 6, 1, 16ff. mentions him together with the grāmaṇī and relates him to the chariot. The appellations of these personages occur elsewhere preferentially in pairs, as dvandva compounds: sūta-grāmaṇī, kṣattṛ-saṃgrahītṛ. Though they occur in the ratnin list singly (except: takṣa-rathakāra) they occupy in all versions of the list places close to each other, two by two. Their occurring in pairs seems to me to be related to their function of covering, enveloping the king, as may be shown by ŚB. 3, 4, 1, 7: "the metres accompany him on both sides; in the same way as the non-royal electors (*arājāno rājakṛtaḥ*), the sūtas and the grāmaṇīs accompany the king on both sides, so accompany him the metres on both sides". Besides, pairs are considered conducive to procreation.[33]

In the third place the four social classes can be discerned, at least in the list of the WhYV. where next to the brahmins (the purohita), the kṣatriyas (the sacrificer himself), we find also representatives of the vaiśyas (the vaiśya-grāmaṇī) and the śūdras. As to this last group, it is made clear by the ŚB. that they too are represented, for the Soma-Rudra iṣṭi is declared to be a purificatory rite necessitated by the participation of śūdras in the ratnin offerings.[34]

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[29] Cf. Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, nos. 39–44.

[30] Dumont, *o.c.*, nos. 151 and 155; Baudh. 15,5 (Dumont, p. 299). In this connection it is interesting that three of the royal consorts are identified with the three divisions of space, earth, atmosphere, sky (TB. 3,9,4,5).

[31] Cf. Āp. 20,10,2 (Dumont, p. 261).

[32] Cf. Baudh. 15,25:229.9.

[33] Cf. e.g. ŚB. 9,3,4,5.

These three groups, which originally may have been related to each other in the same way as similar groups are in the aśvamedha, rally round the king. This idea is to be found expressed also in a hymn of the A.V. (3, 4), where the people and the directions of space (st. 2), the relatives, wives and sons (st. 3), the gods (st. 4) are conjured to gather round the king. One of the objects of the gathering seems there to be the presentation of tribute (st. 3,7) and its counterpart the distribution of gifts (st. 2,4), which exchange cements the union of king and subjects.[35] The hymn further shows a marked resemblance to the circumstances of the present ratnin ceremony where it mentions Agni going along as a speedy messenger (st. 3), and the "wealthy (divinities) of the roads" which make wide room for the king (st. 7). In the ratnin offerings too Agni goes along accompanying the king on his tour of the ratnin houses, while the divinity of the road is honoured in one of the offerings. Viewed in this light the object of the gathering of the ratnins round the royal place of sacrifice may originally also have been a ceremonious (yearly) presentation of tribute and distribution of gifts.[36] The ritualists seem to have eliminated this aspect by translating it into their own ritual idiom: the king collects the "blessings", the wishes uttered by the ratnins at the iṣṭis for which they have to provide the materials and the dakṣiṇās. However, the essence of the matter, the concord of king and subjects – a paramount concern in the quoted AV. hymn too –, is preserved and given powerful expression: the king touring the ratnins in the same way as the sun – mark the fire accompanying the king – visits the parts of the universe, enters into a marriage-like bond with them. The idea of marriage and consequently of entering the womb in view of rebirth is in the ratnin ceremonies most clearly represented by the group of royal consorts and related personages, but a similar idea seems to underly the group of personages connected with the chariot, who two by two surround the king, and being "king-makers" may well be connected with the idea of the embryonic covers,[37] while the four varṇas also may be considered as a womb from which the king is to be born, to "break loose", as he is actually shown to do in the dicing ceremony. The marriage bond is particularly clear in the case of the brahman priest (or royal chaplain, purohita) as the relation between the king and his purohita, or in a more general way the relation between the royal and the priestly powers is generally conceived of as a marriage.[38]

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[34] Cf. ŚB. 5,3,2,2. Who exactly are these śūdra ratnins is not said. Possibly the takṣa-rathakāra is meant (cf. Caland's notes on Āp. 5,3,19); the akṣāvāpa and govikartṛ are perhaps also considered śūdras.

[35] The hymn is used, acc. to Kauś. 16,30, in a rite for the restoration of a king to his former kingdom, but the wording of the hymn suggests rather a connection with the inauguration durbar of a newly chosen king than the restoration of a deposed king.

[36] Cf. also JB. 2,25–26 quoted above, where the sun is represented collecting the specific qualities inherent to the different parts of the universe, which in their turn receive a share in their solar king.

Viewed in this way we can put the charioteers and the representatives of the four varṇas on a par with the royal consorts as wombs or embryonic covers which the king enters and from which he is born a year later – during which period he is a dīkṣita, i.e. an embryo[39]– in the rites of the unction festival, where the ratnins will again play an important role.[40]

Now the embryonic state is one in which danger is imminent; the embryonic covers are not only protective but may also harm the embryo.[41] The evil aspect is represented by the last ratnin and is disposed of in his house. Thus in the WhYV. we see that in the house of the parivṛttī, Nirṛti is put off and the parivṛttī is sent away.[42] In the BlYV. this role is assigned to the dicing surveyor-slaughterer, in the house of which an iṣṭi for Rudra is performed: "at the end he offers to Rudra (to make him go away)".[43] In the same sphere lie also the counter-offerings for Indra Sutrāman and Indra Aṃhomuc (BlYV.), the offering to Soma-Rudra (WhYV.); their function is the protection of the royal embryo in the womb with a view to its safe birth.

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[37] As we shall learn later, when discussing the chariot drive (or raid) to which episode the offerings in the houses of the ratnins connected with charioteering seem a prelude, the chariot drive is closely bound up with royal (re)birth and cosmic recreation. The sexual symbolism of chariot fighting is clearly indicated in the stanzas used in the aśvamedha when the sacrificer is equipped for a symbolic chariot forray (TS. 4,6,6,1–2; cf. Āp. 20,16,4 ff.). It may be interesting to note that battle and sexual union are often intimately connected, as for instance in Celtic – at least in its insular, Irish branch – mythology (cf. M. L. Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*, London, 1949, p. 29 f.; also p. 35, p. 76).

[38] Cf. Oldenberg, *R.d.V.*, p. 376; Keith, *R.Ph.V.*, p. 341; J. Gonda, "Purohita", *Studia Indologica* (Festschr. W. Kirfel) Bonn 1955, p. 107 f.; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government* (Am. Or. Ser. 22) (New Haven, 1922). For the counterpart of marriage, the birth of the king from the brahman power, cf. ŚB. 14, 4,2,23 (BĀU. 1,4,11), where the brahman power is called the womb of the royal power. Cf. also MS. 4, p. 55.10: "the brahman (priest) at the sacrifice is Prajāpati; out of Prajāpati Indra (prototype of the royal sacrificer) was born (*asūyata*)".

[39] In this connection TB.'s insistence on the number twelve of the ratnins is interesting: "the year (has) twelve months, through the year he obtains the realm" (1,7,3,6).

[40] In this connection we may still point to the eight "important persons" (*vīra-*), who, acc. to PB. 19,1,4, sustain together the kingship and amongst whom the king is anointed: the king's brother, the king's son, the purohita, the queen, the sūta, the grāmaṇī, the kṣattṛ and the saṃgrahītṛ. In this list, which strongly resembles our ratnin list, we can easily discern two symmetrical groups: four relatives: brother, son, purohita, the queen (the purohita can approximately be considered as the king's ritual father); and four persons connected with charioteering. The king's relatives are as so many representatives of his kin, from which he is born and who also at his unction birth surround him; they are paralleled by the four charioteers, connected with his battle birth in the chariot drive.

[41] Cf. ŚB. 6,6,1,24: "The secundines do not harm the embryo", as against ŚB. 7,2,1,5, where the secundines fall in line with *pāpman-*, evil.

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[42] The fact that she, acc. to Sāyaṇa, takes refuge in the house of a brahmin, may perhaps be connected with the idea of putting back the dangerous cover in the womb which bore the king, the brahman power; cf. the discussion of the Nirṛti and kṣetriya rites.

[43] TB. 1,7,3,5; MS. 4, p. 48.8. We find this idea also in the ekādaśinī animal sacrifice; there it is Varuṇa who is put off: "at the end he sacrifices an animal for Varuṇa, thus he releases him from Varuṇa's fetter, from all that is connected with Varuṇa" (ŚB. 3,9,1,21).

VII

IṢṬI FOR MITRA AND BṚHASPATI

(*MAITRABĀRHASPATYAM*)

TS. 1,8,9; TB. 1,7,3,7–8; MS. 2,6,6; 4,3,9; KS. 15,5; ŚB. 5,3,2,3–8. Baudh. 12,6; Āp. 18,11,2–23; Hir. 13,4,15–30; Kāty. 15,3,40–46.

This iṣṭi takes place on the next day after the ratnin offerings and consists of a caru for Mitra and Bṛhaspati. In a way it provides a link between the ratnin offerings and the unction festival. It is considered the conclusion of the ratnin episode,[1] while according to Baudh. the milk used in this iṣṭi has been milked on the previous days after each of the ratnin offerings. On the other hand Āp. and Hir. prescribe it as the dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi performed on the dīkṣā days preceding the unction festival.[2] A particular feature of this iṣṭi is that several of the implements and materials used in it should have come into existence of their own accord (*svayam*).

The caru is cooked partly in milk (Bṛhaspati's portion), partly in ghee (Mitra's portion). Now the ghee should be produced by itself. MS. and KS. describe this process in three stages: self-coagulated, self-churned, self-liquefied (*svayaṃ mūrchati*, *svayaṃ mathyate*, *svayaṃ vilīyate*). In accordance with this wording Āp. and Hir. describe the self-production of the ghee as follows: 1. A white cow feeding a white calf[3] is milked into a rough (?) skin bag.[4] This milk then coagulates by itself (*svayaṃ mūrta-*):

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[1] ŚB. 5,3,2,4; like the Soma-Rudra iṣṭi it is thought to eliminate the stain which the king has incurred by associating śūdras with the sacrifice.

[2] Instead of the normal iṣṭi for Agni and Viṣṇu (cf. CH. no. 15). The rule prescribing the maitrabārhaspatya as dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi originates from MS. (4, p. 48.18). Perhaps the WhYV. originally held the same view, as might be suggested by ŚB. 5,3,2,4: "... having again entered the road of the sacrifice (which he had left by associating śūdra ratnins with the sacrifice) he undertakes the dīkṣā", in explanation of the maitrabārhaspatya, Mitra and Bṛhaspati forming the road of the sacrifice.

[3] This detail in all BlYV. saṃhitās. Cf. above the Soma-Rudra iṣṭi of the WhYV., where also the milk of a white cow feeding a white calf is used. In the WhYV.'s version of the maitrabārhaspatya this peculiarity is lacking.

[4] *āmastye dṛtau* (Āp.), declared as not used before, or rough (cf. Caland ad Āp. 18,11,3). Hir. reads *āmrasya dṛtau*; cf. also Mādhava ad TS. 1,8,9 (B.I., p. 109) explaining it as a skin bag smeared with the sap of mangos (*āmra-*) (apparently to

2. The coagulated milk is then put on some kind of chariot[5] and is driven about so that it is churned by itself (*svayaṃ mathita-*); 3. The self-churned butter is hung in a place in the sun so that it liquefies by itself and becomes ghee (*svayaṃ vilīnam ājyam*).

TS. mentions only two phases: *svayaṃ mūrta-*, *svayaṃ mathita-*. In accordance with TS., Baudh. leaves out the third phase, the liquefying in the sun. An interesting feature in Baudh.'s version is that on each of the ratnin days after the performance of the iṣṭi in the ratnin house and its counterpart on the central place of sacrifice the white cow is milked and the milk added to that of the preceding day. This seems to be Baudh'.s solution of the self-coagulation. According to the Dvaidhasūtra the self-coagulated milk is then driven about on a chariot (the self-churning).

The WhYV. mentions only the churning phase: curds are poured into a skin bag and driven round on a chariot; ghee then rises by itself to the surface (*svayam uditam ājyam*).

Similar rules obtain also for the vedi, the sacrificial strew, the firewood and the dish for Mitra's portion. The vedi must be self-made (*svayaṃ kṛta-*). Hir. specifies that a natural depression in the soil should be used as a vedi. The self-cut (*svayaṃ dina-*) sacrificial strew is explained by Baudh. as kuśa grass trodden down by cows (*gonyāsapramṛdita-*), and the self-made firewood as branches fallen off by themselves.[6] KS., however, prescribes that half of the vedi, of the strew and of the firewood should be self-produced; the other halves should be obtained in the normal way.[7] Besides the normal caru dish used for Bṛhaspati's portion, the use of a special dish is prescribed for Mitra's portion. The latter dish should be made of a branch of the aśvattha tree which has fallen of itself; the dish should further be quadrangular (TS.), like a Soma cup (Hir.'s comm.).

As to the sacrificial substance, it is laid down that for Bṛhaspati's and Mitra's portion of the caru respectively unhusked and husked grains of rice are used (TS.); or respectively small and big grains of rice (MS., KS., WhYV.), paraphrased by ŚB. 5, 3, 2, 7 as broken and unbroken grains of rice.

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promote the curdling of the milk). The skin bag is also mentioned in Baudh.'s dvaidhasūtra (22,17:141.13). The use of the skin bag seems to have originated with the WhYV. (cf. Caland, *l.c.*).

[5] (*saṃ*)*yogena*; Caland renders it by "Gespann". Acc. to ŚB. 5,3,2,6 the skin bag is placed on a chariot (*ratha-*, so also Baudh.'s dvaidhasūtra, l.c.).

[6] Cf. Baudh.'s dvaidhasūtra, l.c.; this is Baudh.'s opinion; Śālīki's interpretation seems to be that vedi, strew, firewood are to be made by the king himself (cf. 12.6: 92.16: *rājaivāyaṃ svayaṃ karmabhiḥ pūjito bhavati*).

[7] Cf. Āp. 18,11,10.

Though the caru consists of two different portions the WhYV. expressly states that they form only one offering.[8] The BlYV., however, considers it an iṣṭi consisting of two separate offerings, like the new- and full-moon iṣṭis. Hir. consequently specifies that the nirvapana (the first occasion where the names of divinities to whom the iṣṭi is destined are mentioned) should be performed separately for the two portions.[9]

A special procedure is laid down for cooking the caru. After the caru dish with Bṛhaspati's portion has been cooked, Mitra's wooden dish is put on top of it;[10] the self-produced ghee and the grains of rice are then poured into it. In this way Mitra's portion is cooked on the steam, being thus "self-cooked" (*svayaṃ śṛta-*, ŚB. 5, 3, 2, 8).

The dakṣiṇā is the white cow feeding a white calf, that has provided the milk for this iṣṭi (TS., TB.); or a horse for Mitra's offering, and a white-backed ox for Bṛhaspati's offering (MS., KS.; the latter mentions as an alternative the white cow); or a bull (WhYV.).[11]

ANNOTATIONS

The maitrabārhaspatya iṣṭi is intimately connected with the ratnin episode. In the WhYV. the Soma-Rudra iṣṭi, which there is the concluding counterpart to the ratnin offerings, and the maitrabārhaspatya iṣṭi are even in a way ritual doublets: both iṣṭis are considered to atone for the sacrificer's associating ratnins of śūdra origin with the sacrifice. We seem therefore justified in applying the conclusion as to the meaning of the Rudra-Soma and Aṃhomuc-Sutrāman iṣṭis, reached above, also to the maitrabārhaspatya iṣṭi, so that it may be assumed that the present iṣṭi is also concerned with the safeguarding of the royal embryo in the womb.

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[8] Cf. ŚB. 5,3,2,8; Kāty. 15,3,45.

[9] Cf. Hillebrandt, *N.V.O.*, p. 24. Both possibilities, united and separated nirvapana, are recorded in Baudh.'s dvaidhasūtra (22,17:141.16). The eventual separation of the two haviṣes takes place, as stated by Āp. and Hir., after the first husking (*triṣphalī-karaṇa-*, cf. *N.V.O.*, p. 29). This is the usual procedure in the case of an iṣṭi consisting of more than one offerings among which are carus (cf. Āp. 24,3,20 where *prāg adhivapanāt* refers to the second adhivapana, the one performed with a view to grinding the grains, not, as Caland interprets, the first adhivapana performed with a view to husking). The husking is then completed for Mitra's rice only. A similar procedure will probably have been adopted in case small and big or broken and unbroken rice grains were prescribed, though this is not on record.

[10] Hir.'s comm. adds that the Mitra dish is fastened with cords and smeared with clay.

[11] I can not agree with Caland (ad Āp. 18,11,23) who supposes the single dakṣiṇā of TS.-TB. to indicate that the two portions formed a single offering. The less so as Baudh. handles the two portions separately (12,6:93.8 ff.).

We may now proceed to substantiate this conclusion from within. Bṛhaspati, the Lord of the brahman power, is identical with the brahman, while Mitra is here equated to the kingship (*kṣattra-*).[12] The brahman, as has already been seen, is considered the womb of kingship, and we cannot be far out in considering Bṛhaspati's dish with Mitra's dish being cooked on top of it as a representation of royalty maturing as an embryo in its brahman womb. Also the unhusked grains of rice of Bṛhaspati's portion can be taken to symbolize the state of the embryo enveloped by its covers.[13] The fastening of the Mitra dish on the Bṛhaspati dish, as prescribed by Hir.'s comm., adds a further detail to this representation: the embryo is fastened in the womb (against miscarriage). In this connection it is also interesting to notice that Bṛhaspati is often associated with safe birth: he loosens the fetters with which Indra was bound when born, he finds the means for untying Nirṛti's fetters, he releases the fetter of death binding the newly-born.[14] Thus Bṛhaspati-brahman is the safe basis, the *pratiṣṭhā*, on which the royalty (*kṣattra-*), represented by Mitra, is fastened – for firmness, for not-looseness[15] – with a view to its safe birth.

Another interesting fact tallying perfectly with the above conclusion is that the maitrabārhaspatya is at the same time the dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi of the unction festival. As is well-known, the object of the dīkṣā is to reduce the sacrificer to the embryonic state with a view to his rebirth "out of sacrifice, out of brahman". This, as may be clear from the above, is exactly the object of the maitrabārhaspatya iṣṭi as well. Thus the maitrabārhaspatya confronts us with the parallelism between the dīkṣā for the unction festival and the ratnin episode. The king circulates among the ratnins as an embryo, integrating them and thus ripening. This process imitates the course of the year as is made explicit by TB. – twelve ratnins corresponding to twelve months. The idea of a year-long gestation is also expressed by the dīkṣā for the unction festival which, according to several authorities, also takes up a year.

The year-long ripening process implied in the ratnin episode finds clear-cut expression in the production of the Mitra ghee as described by Baudh. On each of the ratnin days a cow is milked and the milk is poured on that of the preceding day to make it thicken. This recalls the sun drinking day after day the milk of the earth-cow and the heaven-bull.[16] When discussing the ratnin episode we already observed that the king imitates the sun's circulation round the parts of the universe. The parallel gains substance on taking into account Mitra's solar nature.[17] The ghee which rises by itself when driven round on a chariot (sun-chariot?) drawn by animals who are told "to fly away"[18] seems to be another indication of the solar character of the process. The sunlike circulation has an engendering effect as exemplified by the production of the ghee – in its first stage paralleling the king's sunlike circulation among the ratnins, then again put in circulating motion on what seems the sun's chariot. The most important feature of this engendering process is its self-dependence, stressed in all the details of the present iṣṭi in which the main implements and materials should be self-produced. The king, equalling the sun which encompasses and regulates space and time and is occasionally called *svayaṃbhū-* (VS. 2,20), engenders himself, performing all by himself the cosmic process of ripening and birth.

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[12] MS. 4, p. 48,17. For the identity Bṛhaspati-brahman in general, cf. J. Gonda, *Notes on brahman* (Utrecht, 1950), p. 67 f.

[13] Compare the offering of husks in the fire of the lying-in woman (*sūtikāgni-*) after the birth (ĀpGS. 15,6–7; HirGS. 2,3,7).

[14] Cf. Caland, *W.O.*, no. 96; AB. 4,10,15; AV. 3,11,8. For Bṛhaspati as releaser from darkness, cf. Hillebrandt, *V.M.*, 1,164. B. also protects again narrowness (*aṃhas-*), cf. J. Gonda, "The Vedic concept of *aṃhas*", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, I, p. 36 f.

[15] MS. 4, p. 48.18–20. *Pratiṣṭhā* connotes the womb concept, cf. e.g. ŚB. 3,9,3,2: "then he takes down king Soma; this (earth) is the *pratiṣṭhā*, the place of birth of these creatures, he puts him down even on this (earth), (as) on a *pratiṣṭhā*; he stretches him out from this (earth), he causes him to be born from this earth".

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[16] RV. 1,160,3 (cf. Geldner, "Der RigVeda übersetzt", *HOS*, 33, p. 219); cf. also 1,79,3.

[17] Cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 29. The fact that Mitra's dish is quadrangular is possibly to be related to Mitra's solar character. Cf. ŚB. 14,3,1,17, where the sun is stated to be quadrangular (this points to the sun's relation with the four points of the compass.)

[18] ŚB. 5,3,2,6: *dedīyitavā āha*; Kāṇva-recension: *dedīyadhvam iti.*

VIII

UNCTION FESTIVAL

(*ABHIṢECANĪYAḤ*; GENERALITIES)

The unction festival is a normal Soma sacrifice of the ukthya form;[1] that means that to the twelve rounds (consisting each of a Soma libation, a stotra and a śastra) are added three more rounds which are incorporated in the evening service.[2]

The number of dīkṣā and upasad days preceding the festival, as given by the sūtra authors, varies widely. According to Kāty. 15,4,2 there are one dīkṣā day and three upasad days, so that the whole paradigma takes up five days. Baudh. 12,7:93.13 states the number of dīkṣā days to be undetermined (*aparimita-*) and that of the upasad days as six. Āp. and Hir. prescribe a year-long dīkṣā; in the last ten days of the dīkṣā year fall the unction festival and the daśapeya, which latter follows on the tenth day after the unction festival and thus closes the year.

The unction festival is connected with the daśapeya festival by the saṃsṛps, and the WhYV. goes even so far as to consider them as forming one framework.[3] The pivotal point here is the Soma purchase. According to the WhYV., followed in this respect by Āp. and Hir., the Soma is bought for both festivals together on one day.[4] The Taittirīyakas have a similar rule: "On the same day they perform the dīkṣā, on the same day they buy the Soma" (*sadyo dīkṣayanti, sadyaḥ somaṃ krīṇanti*);[5] this rule refers, however, only to the daśapeya and is by the sūtra authors interpreted as prescribing that the dīkṣā and the first upasad day (the day when the Soma is bought) for the daśapeya coïncide. Accordingly the daśapeya is in the BlYV. separated from the unction festival, each having its own framework. The similarity of the two rules for the Soma purchase suggests, however, that they originated from one and the same rule interpreted in two different ways by the Vājasaneyins and the Taittirīyakas.

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[1] TB. 1,8,7,2; MS. 4,4,10:61.17; Kāty. 15,4,49.

[2] For the ukthya cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 137; Āp. 14,1,6–10.

[3] Cf. the technical discussion on this point Kāty. 15,8,10–13. See further Daśapeya, description.

[4] Cf. ŚB. 5,4,5,15; Kāty. 15,4,3.8,10; Āp. 18,12,2–3; Hir. 13,5,2.

[5] TS. 1,8,18,1; TB. 1,8,2,1.

The liturgical particulars need not detain us here.[6] Suffice it to notice that the three pavamāna lauds (the lauds that introduce respectively the morning, midday and evening services of the sutyā day) are composed of thirty-four verses (stotriyā)[7] and that the stotras of the three services are composed respectively of fifteen, seventeen and twenty-one verses. This latter feature connects the unction festival with the hair-cutting festival which begins with twenty-one versed stotras in the morning-service followed by seventeen versed stotras in the midday service and fifteen versed ones in the evening service (*pratīcīnastoma-*). Thus the two sacrifices represent respectively ascension to the sky and descent to the earth.[8]

Two separate chapters will be devoted to the dakṣiṇās given at this festival (Dakṣiṇās) and the concluding rites (End of the Unction festival).

In the Soma paradigma, outlined above, the unction and related rites are intercalated. To these rites the following chapters are devoted. Here it may be noticed how these rites are intercalated in the Soma paradigma.

To begin with: the devasū offerings are performed on the last upasad days. According to the WhYV. the different sorts of water needed for the unction are drawn and poured together on the same day after the conclusion of the devasū offerings.[9] The processing of the waters is then resumed on the following, the sutyā day. The BlYV., however, has all the rites pertaining to the preparation of the unction fluid performed on the sutyā day together with the other royal rites.

The royal rites form a block inserted in the midday service of the sutyā day, about the time of the drawing and offering of the mahendragraha (CH. no. 198 ff.). As to the exact places taken up by the block of royal rites in the Soma paradigma, the sūtra authors differ. We shall here summarize the views of Baudh., Āp. and Kāty.

Baudh.'s account starts the royal rites, when the adhvaryu is about to offer the dakṣiṇā libations (CH. no. 191a), with the yoking of the chariots, later to be used in the chariot drive. This act coïncides with the act of preparing the dakṣiṇās. After the dakṣiṇā rites follow the drawing and processing of the unction waters and the other rites up to the chariot drive. The chariot drive is synchronized with the rites pertaining to the mahendragraha (stotra, śastra, offering of mahendragraha, CH. nos. 199–201). Between the offering of the mahendragraha and the subsequent drinking of the remainder of this graha by the hotṛ and the adhvaryu (CH. no. 201), the enthronement, the dicing episode and the recitation of the Śunaḥśepa legend are inserted. Thus the whole is framed in between the dakṣiṇā libations and the drinking of the remainder of the mahendragraha (CH. nos 191-201).

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[6] For details cf. PB. 18,8,3; 18,10,1–10.

[7] Cf. TB. 1,8,7,1; Baudh. 12,16:111.12; MS. 4,4,10:61.12. PB. 18,8,3 diverges prescribing thirty-two verses.

[8] Cf. PB. 18,10,8–10. Further see Hair-cutting festival.

[9] Probably the drawing of the unction waters is synchronized with the drawing of the vasatīvarī waters, CH. no. 109.

Āpastamba places the block of royal rites somewhat later. The rites concerning the unction waters are performed directly after the libations of the third marutvatīya libation (CH. no. 197).[10] The unction then coïncides with the stotra (CH. no. 198).[11] The other rites follow in due order and are concluded before the offering of the mahendragraha (CH. no. 201).[12] Thus Āp. performs the royal rites concurrently with the rites pertaining to the mahendragraha (CH. nos 198–201).

Kāty. inserts the whole block of royal rites between the offering of the third marutvatīyagraha and the subsequent drawing of the mahendragraha (CH. nos 197–198.)[13]

Beside the Soma sacrifice the royal rites, especially the unction, are framed in yet another way. In the first place there is an iṣṭi comprising an āmikṣā for Mitra and Varuṇa (WhYV.) or a cake on twenty-one potsherds for the Maruts and an āmikṣā for the Viśve Devāḥ; the performance of this iṣṭi spans the whole block. The sviṣṭakṛt and iḍā rites of this iṣṭi conclude the block of royal rites.[14]

Further there are the twelve so-called pārtha libations, the first six of which are performed before, the other six after the unction. The gods to whom they are offered are: Agni, Soma, Savitṛ, Sarasvatī, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati, Indra, sound (*ghoṣa-*), verse (*śloka-*), Aṃśa, Bhaga, the Lord of the Field (Kṣetrapati). Besides the Taittirīyakas prescribe twelve libations called "offerings to the Bhūtas (in order to remove them)" (*bhūtānām aveṣṭayaḥ*), six before and six after the unction or, as Baudh. prescribes, all twelve are offered after the second pārtha series. The bhūtas are: earth, atmosphere, sky, sun, moon, constellations, waters, plants, trees, moving creatures, swimming creatures, creeping creatures.[15]

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[10] Āp. 18,12,11.

[11] Āp. 18,15,10. The same moment is prescribed by him for the unction in the vājapeya sacrifice. Hir. 13,2,20 with more precision stipulates that the vājapeya unction is performed when the adhvaryu has "brought near" the relevant stotra (CH. no. 199 b). This moment is probably meant here also.

[12] Āp. 18,20,1.

[13] Kāty. 15,5,1.7,23; cf. also ŚB. 5,3,5,2; 5,4,4,25.

[14] Baudh. 12, pp. 100.8 ff., 102.15, 110.8; Āp. 18,12,11–12. 15,2–4. 19,15–17; Kāty. 15,4,50. 6,36. 7,23. Baudh. has the sviṣṭakṛt performed after the unction and the iḍā rite at the end of the block of royal rites. The Marut cake gives opportunity for an incantatory rite against an enemy. As such it occurs also outside the rājasūya in the Maitrāyaṇīya school (cf. Āp. 18,15,3; Caland, *Wunschopfer*, no. 65).

ANNOTATIONS

The framing of the royal rites in a set of sacrifices (Soma sacrifice, Marut cake, pārtha libations) layered like covers round them is not merely the effect of accumulation devised for greater impressiveness. This framing has a clear-cut function in the thought of the Vedic ritualists. It expresses the birth of the sacrificer out of the sacrifice (or of the brahman power) by virtue of which he realizes his identity with the cosmos, becomes the cosmic man (Prajāpati). As will be observed, the unction marks the king's (re)birth. This birth is made into a birth out of the sacrifice by the device of placing it right in the middle of the Soma sacrifice: "Prajāpati is the sacrifice that is "woven" (*tāyate*) (and) from him these creatures are born; as an effect of that (sacrifice) they are born also at the present day; therefore (the priest) places (the sacrificer) in the middle of that Prajāpati (who is the sacrifice), from the middle (the priest) quickens (or engenders; *suvati*) him."[16] The same statement is made about the āmikṣā for the Viśve Devāḥ, which iṣṭi spans the whole of the block of royal rites, as well as about the pārtha libations, which fence in the unction.[17] The same significance seems also to be attached to the devasū offerings, which, as will be argued in the next chapter, were originally also intended to frame the unction, while the most significant expression given to the idea of birth out of sacrifice by means of framing it in a sacrificial performance is to be found in the offering of the sūtavaśā cow at the conclusion of the unction festival.[18]

Against this background may be set the speculations on the framing iṣṭi and libations. The Maruts and the Viśve Devāḥ are often equated to the people (*viśaḥ, prajāḥ*).[19] Thus the unction placed in the midst of the performance of an iṣṭi for the Maruts and the Viśve Devāḥ can be considered an abstract ritual idiom expressing the birth of the king – the embryo of the people – out of the people. The twelve pārtha libations are equated to the year.[20] Considering the king's year-long embryonic state as dīkṣita before the unction and the general character of the rājasūya as a yearly regeneration rite, it may safely be assumed that they express the idea of the king's birth out of the year, or after a year-long period of ripening. The king's year-long dīkṣā is congruent with the year-long ripening process in the universe, and his unction birth seems, originally, to have been connected with the ripening of the crops. This accounts for the stress laid on the king's obtaining food or even "all food" by means of the Marut cake and the pārtha libations.[21] In this connection it may be noticed that the pārtha libations derive their name from the mythic king Pṛthi Vainya, who obtained all food by means of these libations.[22] The same Pṛthi is said to have "milked" both milk and agriculture (*kṛṣṭi-*) from the cosmogonic cow Virāj.[23] Having the pārtha libations performed in connection with his unction, the king thus seems to re-enact Pṛthi's feat of milking the Virāj cow, in other words to make the animal and vegetable world yield their fruits, the ripening of which coïncides with the king's preceding dīkṣā. Thus the king's dīkṣā and unction birth can be considered to represent the cosmic processes of ripening and birth. This meaning of the king's unction birth is given transcendental, cosmic effect by its being made a birth out of the sacrifice enacted on the place of sacrifice, the ideal model of the universe.

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[15] Baudh. 12, p. 101,2. 102,13 ff.; Āp. 18,15,8–9. 16,11–12; Kāty. 15,5,2.34.

[16] ŚB. 5,3,5,1; for the significance of *suvati* see Devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi, annotations, where a similar passage will be discussed in more detail.

[17] Cf. respectively ŚB. 5,4,4,24; 5,3,5,6.

[18] Cf. chapter: End of the Unction festival.

[19] Cf. e.g. TB. 2,7,2,2; ŚB. 2,5,2,6.27; 3,9,1,16–17.

In birth, however, death is also implied; the embryonic covers are at once protective and dangerous, as noticed earlier when dealing with the Anumati-Nirṛti offerings. The death aspect of the unction which will recur in the unction ceremony itself, is here represented in the "offerings to the Bhūtas". By these offerings death is "offered away".[24] The bhūtas (beings concerned with fertility and growth) as addressed in the formulas are the parts of the universe, articulated into four groups of three entities each (earth, atmosphere, sky, etc.). In this respect these libations can be compared to the offerings to the quarters of space (in order to remove them) (*diśām aveṣṭayaḥ*) at the close of the daśapeya festival: the king, having been enveloped as an embryo during the maturing process in the parts of the universe or in the quarters of space, discards by offering his embryonic covers when born.[25]

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[20] TB. 1,7,7,5; ŚB. 5,3,5,5; MS. 4,4,5:54.18.

[21] TB. 1,7,7,3; ŚB. 5,3,5,4.

[22] ŚB. l.c.

[23] AV. 8,10,24. On Pṛthi Vainya, cf. J. Gonda, "Ancient Indian Kingship", *Numen*, 4, (1957), fasc. 2.

[24] TB. 1,7,7,5.

The following chapters will be devoted to a detailed consideration of how the cosmic regeneration and the (re)birth of the king are ritually realized within the compass of the unction festival.

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[25] Cf. chapter: Offering to the Quarters of Space, annotations. For the offering of the embryonic covers (in order to remove them), cf. Iṣṭi for Anumati and Nirṛti, annotations.

IX

OFFERINGS TO THE DEVASŪ GODS

(*DEVASUVĀṂ HAVĪṂṢI*)

TS. 1,8,10; TB. 1,7,4; MS. 2,6,6; 4,3,9; KS. 15,5; VS. 9,39–40; ŚB. 5,3,3.
Baudh. 12, p. 94.10 (cf. 10,55,56); Āp. 18,12,4–10; Hir. 13,5,3–6; Kāty. 15,4,4–19.

On the eve of the unction festival (the last upasad day) a series of eight gods, called in this connection *devasū-* (divine instigators or "göttliche Zeuger", as Weber prefers), is presented with offerings. These offerings are fitted into the framework of the cake offering, which forms part of the animal sacrifice for Agni and Soma, performed, according to the paradigma of the Soma sacrifice, on the last upasad day.[1]

The eight devasū gods and their offerings are the following:

		made of:
1. Agni Gṛhapati (Lord of the House)	cake on 8 potsherds	black rice (TS.) *āpatanta-* (?MS.) quickly-ripening (early) rice (*āśu-*; KS., WhYV.)
2. Soma Vanaspati (Lord of Trees)	caru	millet
3. Savitṛ Satyaprasava (whose instigation is true, efficacious)	cake on 12 potsherds (8; MS., KS.)	quickly-ripening (early) rice (*āśu-*; TS.) pisum arvense (*satīna-*; MS., KS.) *plāśuka-* (WhYV.)[2]
4. Rudra Paśupati (Lord of Cattle)	caru	gavīdhukā

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[1] Cf. CH. no. 106 g; Schwab, *Thieropfer*, nos. 87, 88, 93. The devasū offerings are made in the interval between the chief offering of the paśupuroḍāśa and its sviṣṭakṛt offering; the sviṣṭakṛt rite is then performed once for both the paśupuroḍāśa and the devasū offerings. Acc. to Kāty. 15,4,19, however, the devasū offerings can also have their own framework. In that case the sviṣṭakṛt rite for the devasū offerings is separated from that for the paśupuroḍāśa, each of the two rites having its own praiṣa (resp.: *yaja* and *preṣya*, cf. Kāty. 15,4,4). These alternatives seem to originate in the different views of the Kāṇvas and the Mādhyandinas, the former being in favour of separated frameworks, the latter of a united one (cf. Weber, p. 33).

[2] Interpreted by Sāyaṇa (ad ŚB. 5,3,3,2) as *prāśu(ka)-*, very quickly (ripening crop).

5. Bṛhaspati Vācaspati (Lord of Speech)	caru	wild rice
6. Indra Jyeṣṭha (the Pre-eminent)	cake on 11 potsherds (caru; WhYV.)	large rice (*mahāvrīhi-*; TS.) red rice (*hāyana-*; MS., KS., WhYV.)[3]
7. Mitra Satya (the True)	caru	*āmba-* (?KS., TS.) *nāmba-* (?MS., WhYV.)[4]
8. Varuṇa Dharmapati (Lord of Holy Order)	caru (cake on 10 potsherds; KS.)	barley

Differences with regard to the sequence of the gods bear only on the place of Savitṛ and Rudra. Savitṛ takes up the first place (WhYV.), the second (KS.) or the third place (TS. as above); and Rudra the sixth (WhYV.), the fourth (TS. as above) or the last, eighth place (MS., KS.); the other gods maintain their sequence with regard to each other.[5]

In passing it should be noticed that the fact that each offering is made of a different substance necessitates a special procedure for keeping apart the sacrificial substances which are normally processed together and separated only later on.[6]

After the chief offerings to the devasū gods have been made and before the offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt the following episode is inserted: the brahman priest (Baudh., Āp.) takes the sacrificer by the hand with the formula:

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[3] The distinctive feature of this crop is acc. to ŚB. 5,3,3,6 its being *atiṣṭha-*, standing above, outgrowing (other crops), explaining in this way its connection with Indra (who also stands above all other beings). Sāyaṇa, however, takes *atiṣṭha-* to refer to the long period of its ripening, this period taking up a year's time (*saṃvatsarapakva-*). Summing up: *hāyana-* is a kind of crop producing red rice (Sāyaṇa: *raktaśāli-*), growing high and taking a year's time for ripening. Weber, referring to Avestic *zayana-*, winter, suggests that it might be a sort of winter rice (p. 30).

[4] Acc. to ŚB. 5,3,3,8 this is a crop growing on untilled soil. This peculiarity is related to the nature of Mitra, who does harm to no one; in contradistinction to Mitra Varuṇa's sacrificial substance has grown on ploughed soil. On this opposition between Mitra and Varuṇa, cf. also ŚB. 5,3,2,7.

[5] Thus we find at the end of the series everywhere either Varuṇa or Rudra. This fact is probably related to the idea, to be observed also in the ratnin offerings, that the last of a series is the bearer of the dangerous aspect of the powers involved in the series: "at the end he offers to Rudra (in order to remove him)" or "at the end he sacrifices the victim for Varuṇa, thus he frees him from Varuṇa's noose", as is stated with regard to the ratnin offerings and the ekādaśinī sacrifice (cf. the discussion on the ratnin offerings). In this connection it is interesting that acc. to Baudh. 10,56:59.4 the iḍā portion of the Rudra caru is not offered in the fire together with those of the other offerings, but thrown into deep water.

[6] Cf. Baudh. 10,55:58.1 ff. The question which acts and accompanying formulas are to be repeated for each substance and which acts and formulas refer to the whole of the substances (*tantra-*), is answered in detail by Baudh. 22,11:133.1 ff.

"May Savitṛ quicken thee (for dominion) of the quickeners, Agni of the lords of the house, Soma of the lords of the trees, Rudra of cattle, Bṛhaspati of speech, Indra of the pre-eminent ones, Mitra of the true ones, Varuṇa of the lords of the order."[7]

"Ye gods that are divine quickeners, do ye quicken him, descendant of N.N. (acc. to MS. also the name of the mother is mentioned), to freedom from foes, to great lordship, to great overlordship, to great rule over the people."

Thus the adhvaryu[8] proclaims him to the ratnins:[9]

"This is your king, O Bhāratas" (respectively Kurus, Pañcālas, Kuru-Pañcālas, or simply people, *janatā-*; Āp.).

The brahman whispers in answer:

"Soma is the king of us brahmins."[10]

Baudh. has this second half of the proclamation formula uttered by the "others" (the ratnins?) in reply to the first half.

Then, according to the BlYV., the sacrificer wipes his face during the recitation of two stanzas in which Varuṇa is mentioned:

"This kingdom has verily been conferred, Varuṇa has fastened (*aśiśret*; MS., KS.: *asuṣot*, has engendered) his own body. We have become obedient to pure Mitra; we have magnified the name of the great holy order."

"They (MS.. KS.: we) have all become the hosts of Varuṇa, Mitra in his course has overcome the foes. The worshipful ones have put themselves in accordance with the holy order, Trita has pervaded (*ānaṭ*) our decay (with new force)."[11]

The conclusion of this episode is formed by the three "Viṣṇu strides" (TS., TB.) which the sacrificer performs by stepping out thrice towards the east (Āp., Hir.).

ANNOTATIONS

With the devasuvāṃ haviṃṣi, as the word *devasū-* suggests, we enter the sphere of the sacrifices known as *sava-*, i.e. sacrifices generally following the paradigma of the one-day long Soma sacrifice, the distinctive feature of which is the insertion of an unction. The present offerings occur not only in the unction festival of the rājasūya but also in the other sacrifices of the sava category, such as the agnicayana (also called agniṣava), the vājapeya (bṛhaspatiṣava) and the aśvamedha,[12] while these offerings are also inserted at the conclusion of the normal Soma paradigma in case the sacrificer is a king or on the point of becoming one.[13] It will presently become apparent that the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi are closely related to the unction.

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[7] The differences as to the order of succession are on the same line as above. Here Savitṛ takes the first place everywhere.

[8] Thus acc. to comm. ad Hir. 13,5,4: the brahman takes him by the hand, the adhvaryu proclaims him.

[9] The ratnins are here mentioned by Āp. only.

[10] The proclamation formula is lacking here in MS. and KS., who record it with the āvid formulas later on (see: Preparation of the sacrificer), TS. repeats it there. The WhYV. repeats the proclamation formula and the preceding one at the unction.

[11] MS. and KS. record these two stanzas only later on, when the sacrificer steps down from the chariot after his chariot drive (cf. MS. 2,6,12:71.6; KS. 15,8:215.5).

Traditionally we distinguish three roots *sŭ-*: *su-*, *sunoti*, to press (the Soma-plant); *sū-*, *suvati*, to impel, to consecrate; *sū-*, *sūte*, to procreate.[14] Apart from the question as to whether these roots are etymologically related, it should be kept in mind that the Vedic thinkers, in their desire to connect conceptually different notions, take advantage of forms and derivatives common to all three roots. Thus, for instance, birth and Soma pressing are intertwined in AV. 1, 11, 1: "Let Aryaman as efficient hotṛ priest utter the vaṣaṭ call for thee, O Pūṣan, at this birth (or Soma pressing, *sū́tau*); may this woman . . . be relaxed, may her joints go apart in order to give birth."[15] Also the roots *sū-*, to impel, to consecrate, and *sū-*, to procreate, often coïncide: Savitṛ, the impeller, is said to cause the creatures, offspring (*prajāḥ*), to be born (*prājanayat*).[16] The plāśuka seed used for Savitṛ's cake is explained by ŚB. 5, 3, 3, 2 by the sacrificer's wish: *kṣipre mā prasuvān* (may they speedily impel, quicken me), which recalls the kṣipraprasavana ceremony intended to secure a speedy parturition.[17] This becomes the more plausible on reading ŚB. 5, 3, 3, 15 explaining the insertion of the devasū offerings between the chief offering and the sviṣṭakṛt offering of the agniṣomīya-paśupuroḍāśa: "Prajāpati is the sacrifice that is woven (and) from which these creatures are born; as an effect of that (sacrifice) they are born also at the present day; therefore he (the priest) places him (the sacrificer) in the middle of that Prajāpati (who is the sacrifice), from the middle (the priest) impels him (*suvati*)." The context makes it quite clear that this impelling means in fact engendering. It may therefore be concluded that the devasū gods are not merely "impellers" but more precisely engenderers, procreators. In all probability Weber gets to the heart of the matter when rendering *devasū-* as "göttliche Zeuger".[18]

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[12] Cf. Baudh. 10,55–56; 11,2:65.11; Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, no. 353 and p. 315.

[13] Cf. Āp. 13,24,8.

[14] On the notions covered by these verbs and their derivatives, cf. J. Gonda, "Skt. '*utsava-*', festival", *India Antiqua* (*presented to J. Ph. Vogel*) (Leyden, 1947), p. 146 ff.

[15] Cf. M. Bloomfield, *SBE*, 42, p. 243. The hymn is used in a charm for easy parturition. Sāyaṇa takes sū́tau as from sū́ti and meaning the birth ritual. Accent and gender are unaccounted for. For a similar play upon the forms *soṣyati*, *asoṣṭa*, cf. ChU. 3,17,5.

[16] TB. 1,6,2,2. 4,1; cf. also TS. 1,7,7c: "at the engendering of strength (*vājasya nu prasave*; on this expression cf. J. Gonda, *o.c.*, p. 149) with our speech we proclaim Aditi by name, into whom all this world has entered; in her may divine Savitṛ instigate cosmic order for us (*Savitā dharma sāviṣat*)". The context strongly suggests that the instigation connotes engendering, birth. It is interesting to note that ŚB. 5,1,4,4, commenting upon this formula, renders *dharma-* by *yajamāna-*: the sacrificer is quickened, engendered in Aditi.

[17] Cf. HirGS. 2,2,8; GobhGS. 2,7,13 ff.

Placed in a wider conspectus these considerations lead once more to what seems to be the primary concern of the ritual at large: the birth out of brahman-sacrifice. The word *sava-*, denoting a group of consecratory sacrifices, among which the rājasūya, seems to have a special bearing on this ritual birth. Whereas the distinctive feature of the sava sacrifice is the insertion of an unction, it seems reasonable to assume that in a sava the ritual birth is conceived of under the form of the unction.

The assumption that the word *sava-* refers to ritual birth given form as unction, gains in substance when we investigate the relation of the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi – almost, as observed above, an integral part of a sava – to the unction. It attracts attention that ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 1 explains the insertion of the unction in the ritual of the Soma sacrifice in exactly the same way as the insertion of the devasū offerings in the framework of the agniṣomīya-paśupuroḍāśa: the sacrificer is placed in the middle of Prajāpati-sacrifice to be quickened, engendered therefrom.[19] This agreement points to the conclusion that the devasū offerings originally were connected with the unction. The wiping of the face is in Baudh. a stereotyped act following unction.[20] The formula uttered by the brahman when taking the sacrificer by the hand, together with the proclamation formula, is repeated in the WhYV. at the unction.[21] TS. 5, 6, 3, 1–2 combines its explanation of the agnicayana unction with the explanation of the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi. The devasū offerings seem therefore to represent the empty shell as it were of the unction, which latter was deferred to the sutyā day. The reason for the loss of their original function can be found in the fact that the agnicayana and the unction connected with it take place on the upasad days; in the other savas, however, on the sutyā day. In the course of the development and systematization of the ritual, the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi remained as an empty shell in their place on the last upasad day, while the unction found a more impressive framework in the Soma ritual of the sutyā day; eventually the devasū offerings lost their function even in the agnicayana ritual to the vājaprasavīya libations.[22] A trace of the unction performed conjointly with the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi can be seen in the opinion of the ritualist Aupamanyava as recorded in Baudh.'s Dvaidhasūtra.[23] Also MS. (4, p. 49.1) seems to preserve a trace of the original connection of the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi with the unction when it concludes its exposition of these offerings with: "therefore they say about him: on the previous day (*pūrvedyuḥ*) he is quickened (born, *sūyate*) and anointed (*abhitaś ca sicyate*)".

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[18] Going a step further Weber (p. 29, n. 2) even suggests that *devasū-* may mean "König-zeugend", on the analogy of *rājasū-* in VS. 10,1. Though the engendering of the king certainly is the object of the present rite it may be doubted whether *deva-* in the brāhmaṇa texts can be taken to mean king.

[19] The same argument recurs ŚB. 5,3,5,6 with reference to the framing of the unction with the pārtha libations.

[20] Cf. Baudh. 10,58:61.1; 11,7:74.17; 12,11:102.12; 18,17:362.21.

[21] Cf. VS. 10,18. This formula is called ŚB. 9,4,3,16 *pūrvābhiṣeka-* (formula).

Against the background of the ritual representation of birth so clearly present in the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi, we may also interpret the formula used by the brahman when taking the sacrificer by the hand: "*Savitā tvā prasavānāṃ suvatām, Agnir gṛhapatīnāṃ, Somo vanaspatīnām* ... etc.". If we may take these genitives in the sense of ablatives, we could render the formula with: let Savitṛ cause thee to be born from the prasavas, Agni from the gṛhapatis ... etc.[24] The rite in which this formula is used – the taking by the hand – has, according to TB. 1, 7, 4, 2, as its object *prasūti-*, quickening or rather procreation,[25] which object is perfectly in keeping with the interpretation of the formula given above. The devasū gods engendering the king and presiding over the unction birth can easily be compared to the embryonic covers in which the king enters, as in the case of the ratnins, to integrate them as parts of his person and to be reborn from them. This seems also to be the idea underlying the devasū rites; the king, engendered by the devasū gods, integrates their different spheres of action – "he becomes all this", as TB. 1, 7, 4, 1–2 says in explanation of the hand-taking formula – in the same way as having entered the ratnins or the *viśaḥ* he integrates them upon his birth from them.

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[22] Cf. Āp. 17,19,1 ff.

[23] Baudh. 22,11:133.15: *atro ha smāhaupamanyavaḥ, purastāt sviṣṭakṛto yāvadāmnātenābhiṣiñcen; nātra kṛṣṇājinam, na rukmau na pārthāni bhavanti, kuśān eva saṃstīrya teṣv enam abhiṣiñced iti.* Cf. also 25,31:265.3. Caland takes the relevant passage to refer to the unction on the sutyā day; this would, however, upset the right order of the Dvaidhasūtra pericopes, as a mere glance at the marginal references given by Caland will show. The marginal reference should therefore be: 2.58.9, instead of: 2.60.10.

[24] Similar constructions; *sarvāsāṃ prajānāṃ sūyate*; *sarvasyā vācaḥ sūyate* (TB. 1,8,8,1; PB. 18,8,3). Caland (P.B.-transl.) supposes *madhyataḥ* is to be supplied (cf. PB. 18,8,12).

[25] We are reminded here of the pāṇigrahaṇa in the marriage ritual. For the significance of the hand with respect to fertility and procreation cf. R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European thought*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 198 n. 1 and 494 ff.

An interesting problem arises from the proclamation: "N.N. is your king, o Bhāratas – Soma is the king of us, brahmins." Wherein resides Soma's kingship over the brahmins; and what is the relation of Soma's kingship to that of the human king? Weber dismisses the problem by considering the second half of the formula a secondary accretion devised to demonstrate the independence of the brahmins from the royal authority.[26] The texts explaining the formula seem at first sight to decide in favour of this view when defining the position of the brahmins with regard to the king in the following terms: "he causes everything here to be food for him (the king); he excepts the brahmins alone; therefore the brahmin is not to be lived upon (uneatable, *anādya*-), for he has Soma for king".[27] Weber's theory, however, becomes less probable when we take into account that the words "Soma is our king" recur in the domestic ritual where they are sung by lute players at the sīmantonnayana ceremony performed during the first pregnancy.[28] In this ceremony, intended to promote marital fecundity, it seems quite clear that Soma is invoked as the *retodhās*-, the impregnator of seed, or in a more general way the life-giving power manifesting itself in the cyclical processes of fertility; Soma is the fluid principle of continuity of life, "der Trank der Lebensfortdauer".[29] Soma's being styled "king" in this context seems by no means accidental, for the lute players are ordered to sing the king: "Sing ye the king, or if anybody else is still more valiant", as Pāraskara has it;[30] Soma is evoked here expressly as king. Soma is essentially a king and his realm is the whole cosmos viewed in the perspective of the cyclically recurrent process of growth – decay – new growth, in which process he manifests his royal power.

Let us now consider what Soma's kingship over the brahmins means. The present writer is under the impression that "Soma, king of us, brahmins" is a specialization of "Soma, our king". In the first place it may be noticed that the brahman power – of which the brahmins are the representatives – has a distinct bearing on fertility and growth. In the RV. it repeatedly appears as a *vardhana-*, i.e. as something that causes to increase, that grants prosperity, that strengthens, animates.[31] The wild rice (*nīvāra-*) of which Bṛhaspati's caru in the present offerings is made, is said to grow through the brahman power.[32] The brahman (power) is called in JB. 2,203 (a means of) procreation (*prajananaṃ brahmā*), while the Hindu god Brahmā can often be observed as concerned with fertility.[33] These facts perfectly tally with Soma's kingship over the brahmins. To understand, however, the specific nature of this kingship we must turn to the Soma sacrifice. The place of the sacrifice is the exact model of the universe, the three fire places reflect the three divisions of the universe: the gārhapatya fire is the earth, the āhavanīya fire is the sky and the intermediate space is represented by the dakṣiṇāgni.[34] A code of "connexions" (*bandhu-*) establishes the unity of the sacrificial procedures and the processes in the macrocosmos, and makes the latter dependent on the action of the ritualists. In this sacrificial model universe Soma is undisputably the king – the sūtra authors refer to the Soma plant simply as the king, *rājan-*; his death and rebirth, figured in the ritual proceedings[35] and by the code of connexions brought to bear upon the macrocosmos, epitomize the cyclical fertility process to which the universe is subject. Thus king Soma pressed and offered is the same as king Soma whose realm is realized in the universal fertility processes. With reference to the sacrifice Soma is naturally the king of the brahmins attending him at the sacrifice. They are "the limbs of the sacrifice"[36] – that is: of the epitomized universal process of death and rebirth –, united by the sacrificial kingship of Soma,[37] in the same way as the ratnins, "the limbs of kingship", are united by the human king. Soma's kingship over the brahmins is an exact reflection in the sacrificial microcosmos of his universal kingship over the macrocosmic fertility processes.

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[26] This view has recently been repeated by H. Lommel ("König Soma", *Numen*, vol. 2 [1955], p. 203 f.).
[27] ŚB. 5,3,3,12.
[28] Cf. PārGS. 1,15,7; HirGS. 2,1,1,3; ĀpGS. 6,14,4; BaudhGS. 1,10,11. On the sīmantonnayana, cf. J. Gonda, "The S. as described in the gṛhyasūtras", *East and West*, 7 (1956), p. 12 ff.
[29] Cf. H. Lommel's admirable paper on "König Soma", cited above, esp. p. 200 f.
[30] Cf. also ŚāṅkhGS. 1,22,11–12.

We may now try to define the relation of the two statements: N.N. is king of the Bhāratas (or any other people), and Soma is the king of the brahmins. We have seen that Soma's kingship over the brahmins, far from being a secondary accretion to the ritual, is firmly rooted in Vedic ritualistic thought. The relevant part of the formula is pronounced in a low voice by the brahman priest. This certainly does not indicate that the commoners present should not become aware of the brahmins' exemption from the royal authority, as the facts relating to this exemption must have been common knowledge. It must mean, as whispering in the ritual often does, that we are approaching a cosmic mystery,[38] not an every-day juridical fact. If I am right, the mystery involved is that the royal sacrificer himself is king Soma, king of the brahmins. When dealing with the āgrayaṇa iṣṭi, I already suggested that its essence is the birth of the sacrificer as king Soma, the *oṣadhīnām adhirājā*; he is anointed as king over the plants, as ŚB. 5, 2, 3, 9 states in its explanation of the inclusion of the āgrayaṇa in the rājasūya. Also it should be taken into account that the sacrificer himself is in the last resort the sacrificial substance;[39] he is equated to the victim[40] and even to the Soma beverage.[41] In the last resort it is the sacrificer whose death and rebirth are ritually enacted and form the pivot of the cosmic process as represented in the ritual. In this way the Soma sacrificer – and a fortiori the royal sacrificer[42] – becomes identical with king Soma.[43]

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[31] J. Gonda, *Notes on brahman* (Utrecht, 1950), p. 40.

[32] Cf. ŚB. 5,3,3,5.

[33] Cf. J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie*, 3, pp. 214 f., 220 f.

[34] Cf. Hillebrandt, *V.M.*, 1,102 ff.

[35] Cf. ŚB. 3,9,4,23: "in that they press the Soma, they kill him; in that they extend, "weave" him, they cause him to be born (again); when being "woven", he is born". Cf. also AB. 3,32,2–3 and S. Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 80. The idea of death and resurrection is in the same way present in animal sacrifices and even in haviryajñas; cf. ŚB. 3,2,2,1–2.

[36] ŚB. 9,5,2,16.

[37] Cf. ŚB. 14,1,3,12: Soma is king and = sacrifice.

From these general considerations it will become clear that the identification: N.N., king of the Bhāratas – Soma, king of the brahmins, though not made explicit, lies near at hand. The ultimate identification is surrounded by silence in the same way as the final word of the brahmodya.[44] Far from being a document of the brahmins' supposed independence from or even superiority over the king, it implies the glorification of the royal sacrificer and it will therefore be seen later on that the four chief priests proclaim the king seated on his throne as the *brahmán*- par excellence.[45] The reason for the whispering and the silence on the final identification lies in the power-laden mystery of the relation king-brahman, and it seems significant that this relation should only be stated in clear terms in the upaniṣad portion of the ŚB. (BĀU. 1, 4, 11): "the brahman is the womb of royalty, therefore the brahmin sits, at the rājasūya, below the kṣatriya. Therefore, though he may reach the highest state, in the last resort he rests upon the brahman, his womb. If he were to harm him (i.e. the brahmin, who represents the brahman power), he would harm the womb (from which he has sprung)". In this light we should interpret the phrase that the brahmin should not be "eaten" by the king, which does not primarily refer to brahmanic privileges and prerogatives wrung in a long struggle from a reluctant nobility, but is a succinct statement of the taboos surrounding the relation king-brahman.

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[38] For the function of silence, muttering, and whispering in the ritual cf. L. Silburn, *o.c.*, p. 82.

[39] Cf. TĀ. 5,2,2; KB. 7,3.

[40] Cf. TB. 2,1,5,2; 2,2,8,2.

[41] TB. 1,3,3,5.

[42] There seems to be reason to assume that the śrauta ritual has developed from the royal ritual. The king seems to have been generalized into the yajamāna. I shall revert to this question and resume it in the epilogue.

[43] An indication of the king's identity with Soma is also to be found in the formula pronounced over the sacrificer when anointed in the Soma sava: "Thee, o Soma, may we hallow" (Āp. 22,25,12; TB. 2,4,3,8). Further it is interesting that at his unction the king wears a so-called *pāṇḍara-* garment, which acc. to BĀU. 2,1,3.15 is also king Soma's dress. Also it is stated that the kṣatriya is Soma by virtue of his kingship (AB. 7,23,1).

[44] Cf. L. Renou, "Sur la notion de brahman", *JA*, 237 (1949), pp. 16 f., 49. The present proclamation resembles a brahmodya by its dialogue form; the king, who later on will be proclaimed the *brahmán-* par excellence, the ultimate connection, seems to be the embodied issue of this dialogue.

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[45] Cf. chapter: Enthronement.

X

PREPARATION OF THE UNCTION FLUID

(*APĀṂ GRAHAGRAHAṆAM, JALASAṂSKĀRAḤ*)

TS. 1,8,11–12; 1,8,14 1; TB. 1,7,5–6; 1,7,8,5–6; MS. 2,6,7–8; 4,3,10–4,4,2; KS. 15,6; VS. 10,1–4.6.7.20; ŚB. 5,3,4; 5,3,5,10–19; 5,4,2,10.
Baudh. 12,8–9; 12,11:102.7 ff.; Āp. 18,12,14–13,22; Hir. 13,5,10–21.37; Kāty. 15,4,22–48; 15,5,4–6; 15,6,12.

For the preparation of the unction fluid sixteen or seventeen different sorts of "water" are required.[1]

The preparation consists of:

1. Making a libation in the waters and drawing them.
2. Pouring the different fluids together into a collective vessel.
3. Purifying the unction fluid.
4. Pouring out again the collected waters into the four unction cups.
5. Disposing of the remainder left over in the collective vessel.

1. After the Marut iṣṭi has reached the stage when the cake has been baked and covered with charcoal and ashes, or, to put it in the terms of the Soma paradigma, after the libation of the third marutvatīya graha,[2] the different sorts of water, which have been brought together beforehand (Baudh.), are drawn with the so-called Vāyu vessels.[3] According to Āp. the drawing takes place in the āgnīdhra hut.[4] According to the WhYV

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[1] The WhYV. states their number to be seventeen; MS. and TB.: sixteen. Each sort of water is drawn with a specific formula given in the saṃhitās. Now TS. gives only fifteen formulas, but TB. prescribes sixteen sorts of water to be drawn. The problem seems to lie with the Sarasvatī water, for which no specific formula is given. (Presently I shall try to explain this lack.) Āp. and Hir. leave a choice between the numbers sixteen and seventeen, supplementing the TS. formulas with borrowings from MS.-KS. (Cf. Caland ad Āp. 18,13,18).

[2] Cf. resp. Hillebrandt, *NVO.*, p. 43; CH. no. 197.

[3] On the Vāyu vessels, used in the Soma ritual, CH. no. 105,3, and below, annotations. Acc. to Hir. the Vāyu vessels should have been treated with perfumes on this occasion.

[4] Baudh. has the waters, before the drawing, stored in the havirdhāna hut below the right (southern) Soma cart, from east to west. Probably they are drawn there also. A different opinion, recorded Baudh. 22, p. 142.17, has it that the drawing should be performed before (east of) the sadas.

the drawing takes place on the preceding day after the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi.[5]

As to the formulas given by the saṃhitās for this first stage and the use made of them according to the different schools the following may be noticed.

TS. 1, 8, 11 gives, beside the specific formulas referring each to one of the waters, 3 general formulas:

"They have taken the waters, divine, rich in sweetness, full of strength, attending to the rājasūya; whereby they anointed Mitra and Varuṇa, whereby they led Indra beyond his foes".

"Ye are givers of the kingdom, give ye the kingdom, svāhā".

"Ye are givers of the kingdom, give N.N. the kingdom".

According to Āp. the libations in the waters are made with the specific formulas supplemented with: "they have taken the waters..." and "ye are givers of kingdom... svāhā"; then the drawing of the water is performed again with the specific formula, the formula: "they have taken..." and: "ye are givers of the kingdom, give N.N. the kingdom". Baudh. does likewise but leaves out the first of the general formulas ("they have taken..."), applying it to the Sarasvatī water, which otherwise has no specific formula.

MS. 2, 6, 7[6] opens with:

"Divine waters, son of the waters (*devīr āpo*, *apāṃ napāt*); ye are givers of the kingdom, give ye the kingdom, svāhā."

"Divine waters, son of the waters; ye are givers of the kingdom, give ye N.N. the kingdom."

Then follow the specific formulas for each of the waters. It seems to be intended that only the first formula is used for the libations,[7] while the specific formula supplemented by the second of the two formulas accompanies the drawing. The general formula: "they have taken the waters..." is placed by MS. and KS. further on and applied as an abhimantraṇa to the second stage of preparation, the pouring together.[8]

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[5] In the Kāṇva recension of the VS. the formulas used in drawing the waters are recorded before those used in the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi. This order of succession tallies perfectly with my assumption that the unction was originally framed by the devasū offerings.

[6] I shall leave KS., which in general agrees with MS., out as it gives no information on the use of the formulas.

[7] Cf. Vārāha 3,3,2,8: *devīr āpo, apāṃ napād ity abhijuhoti*; also Mānava: *devīr āpo, apāṃ napād ity abhihavam.*

[8] Cf. Vārāha, 3,3,2,28; Hir. also applies this general formula as an abhimantraṇa either, like Āp., after the drawing of each of the waters (13,5,15), or after the pouring together (17).

The WhYV., as recorded by Kāty., has the libation performed with the specific formula and: "kingdom-giving give the kingdom, svāhā"; for the drawing the specific formula is again prescribed together with: "give N.N. the kingdom". The formula: "they have taken the waters..." is then applied as the specific formula for the Sarasvatī water, as does Baudh.

The specific formulas are listed below. For the sake of brevity I have limited the description of the kinds of water to which the formulas are applied to the data given by Baudh., the best representative of the Taittirīya school; Āp., who gives some interesting variants and borrowings from MS.-KS.; and ŚB.-Kāty. For the version of the Kāṭhakas and the Maitrāyaṇīyas no reliable account is available.

Beside seventeen kinds of water, the WhYV. prescribes that the adhvaryu should take with the hand shining sun motes (*marīci-*) saying: "ye are the self-luminous (or self-ruling) waters (*āpo svarājaḥ stha*); kingdom-giving give N.N. the kingdom". Then he mixes these sun motes with the waters in the seventeen vessels. Here, of course, no libation is made.

A short note may be inserted here on the position of the Sarasvatī water. The Sarasvatī is mentioned as either the first (TB., ŚB.) or the last (Baudh.) of the list, or it is left out (Vārāha). The formula used by Baudh. and ŚB. for the Sarasvatī water totally differs from the other specific formulas, and judged by its contents refers rather to all the waters together than specifically to the Sarasvatī; accordingly it is used as a general formula by Āp. and, in another way, also by MS.-KS. Mānava uses the formula "divine waters, son of the waters" as the formula for the Sarasvatī[9] but the MS. clearly intends this also to be a general formula. It may also be noted here that, according to the WhYV., no libation is made in the Sarasvatī water. Though the Maitrāyaṇīyas, as evidenced by Vārāha, left out the Sarasvatī, it seems nevertheless to have been implied, for in MS.'s brāhmaṇa portion we read: "the Sarasvatī is the vertex (*viṣuvat-*) (of the waters); the waters are related to Sarasvatī; in that he is consecrated with (the waters related to) Sarasvatī, he becomes the vertex".[10] This gives us at the same time the clue to the problem: the Sarasvatī is the central unifying element present in each of the waters and combining them into a whole.[11] This may explain why the sūtras which explicitly prescribe the Sarasvatī water use for it a formula which in fact refers to all the waters. Where, however, the Sarasvatī is not mentioned, it presides, in the way of an *anirukta-*,[12] over the diverse waters, and unifies them. In this way the divergence of TS. mentioning only fifteen formulas, and TB. prescribing the Sarasvatī water as the sixteenth can be explained.

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[9] Cf. also Hir. 13,5,11, apparently based on the Mānava tradition.

[10] MS. 4,3,10:49.17; cf. also TB. 1,7,5,5.

[11] On the pre-eminence of the Sarasvatī among the Indian rivers in Vedic mythology in general, cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 86 f. The Sarasvatī is, among other things, said to fill the three worlds, RV. 6,61,11–12.

2. After the different fluids have been drawn each in its own vessel, they are poured together in a collective vessel variously described as a trough (or closely woven basket) made of reed (*vaitasa- sata-*, Āp.; *vaitasa-droṇakalaśa-*, Hir., Baudh.) or as a vessel made of udumbara wood (*udumbara- pātra-*, Kāty.).[13] This act is accompanied by the formula: "O ye divine waters, be ye united, rich in sweetness, with the sweet, winning great radiance for the kṣatriya."

Then the collective vessel is put down in the sadas, between the dhiṣṇiyas of the hotṛ and the brāhmaṇācchaṃsin (Āp., Hir.) or before the dhiṣṇiya of the maitrāvaruṇa. The formula for putting down the vessel is: "unsurpassed, sit ye down, full of strength, bestowing great radiance upon the kṣatriya".

Here Kāty. interrupts the preparation of the unction fluid to continue on the following day (the sutyā day), when the first series of the pārtha libations is offered immediately before the unction.

3. Next the unction fluid in the collective vessel is "purified". To that end the adhvaryu sinks a piece of gold, which has been attached to a darbha shoot (Baudh.), in the vessel. The piece of gold is variously described as a hundred mānas in weight (Āp., Baudh.) or pierced with a hundred holes (Hir.) or weighing a hundred kṛṣṇalas and pierced with a hundred holes (Vārāha). The accompanying formula is: "Thou art undefeated, the friend (*bandhu-*) of Speech, born from heat; thou art the share of Soma".[14]

The actual purifying (*utpunāti*) – probably this means that the gold is taken out again – is performed with the formula: "The pure I purify you with the pure, the bright with the bright, the immortal with ambrosia, svāhā, the waters attending to the rājasūya."

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[12] In this connection it is perhaps relevant to note an opinion recorded Baudh. 22, p. 172.17, that the libation into the Sarasvatī water should be made silently. On *anirukta-* (indefinite), often associated with Prajāpati, cf. L. Silburn, *Instant et cause*, pp. 54, 82 ff.

[13] The word *sata-* seems to have been borrowed from ŚB. 12,8,3,15, where it is used in the unction connected with the sautrāmaṇī sacrifice (Caland). The droṇakalaśa recalls the Soma trough, which, however, is generally made of vikaṅkata-wood (cf. Āp. 12,2,10–11).

[14] Thus Āp.; Hir. and Vārāha apply this formula when *taking* the piece of gold. Baudh. uses the first part of the formula for taking and the second part ("thou art the share of Soma") for sinking the piece of gold.

The WhYV., according to Kāty., uses for the purification two purifiers (darbha shoots) to which gold (not further qualified) is fastened. Here the purification formula is: "At the instigation of Savitṛ I purify you with a purifier that has no flaw, with the rays of the sun."[15]

4. After the "purification" the water in the collective vessel is divided among the four unction cups made respectively of pālāśa, udumbara, aśvattha and nyagrodha wood. The accompanying formula is: "Enveloping himself in these companions (the reference is to the waters), the bright, the vigorous saps (*ūrj-*), undefeated, busy; in his dwelling-places (*pastyā-*; again the reference seems to be to the waters) Varuṇa has made his abode, the child of the waters in those most motherly."

Baudh., describing this stage in some detail, stipulates that the brahman, the rājanya, the vaiśya and the relative, who later on will administer the unction, are seated in a circle: the brahman to the east, the rājanya to the south, the vaiśya to the west and the relative to the north. The adhvaryu fills the pālāśa cup and hands it to the brahman, next he fills the udumbara vessel and hands it to the rājanya, etc.; repeating each time the formula.

5. Then the remainder of the unction fluid, left over in the collective vessel, is offered in the āgnīdhrīya fire with a formula invoking Rudra: "O Rudra, that highest active (?*krayin-*) name of thee, to that thou art offered, thou art offered to Yama".

MS. (4, p. 51. 17), followed by Vārāha and Āp., has this act performed immediately after the unction fluid has been divided over the four unction vessels.[16] The remainder is then stored till the moment of its offering in the āgnīdhra hut (Baudh.).

MS. and KS. record after the Rudra formula yet another, to be pronounced by the adhvaryu over the sacrificer:[17] "Let Soma, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni, these upholders of holy order (*dharma-*), uphold the holy order."

This Rudra offering has a parallel in the rite for disposing of the fluid left over at the unction. Whereas the BlYV. has two separate rites, one for the remainder after the dividing and the other for the remainder at the unction, the WhYV. combines both rites; according to the version of the WhYV. the unction fluid left over at the unction is collected in the pālāśa vessel (with which in this case the adhvaryu or the purohita has administered the unction); then it is used in the ceremony in which the king and the heir apparent interchange their names and which in the BlYV. is the rite for disposing of the unction remainder; eventually it is poured into the āgnīdhrīya fire as described above, which is in the BlYV. the rite for disposing of the remainder after the dividing.

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[15] This is the usual purification formula (cf. VS. 1,12; TS. 1,1,5a). A similar formula is added by KS. and MS. to the one mentioned above.

[16] Cf. also MS. 2,6,8:69.1 and KS. 15,6:213.16, where the mantra immediately follows the dividing mantra. The Taittirīyakas (Hir., Baudh.) place this act after the unction. (TS. gives the Rudra formula after the unction formulas, TS. 1,8,14; TB. 1,7,8,5. Āp. gives this opinion of his own śākhā only as an alternative, 18,16,13.)

[17] Cf. Vārāha 3,3,2,29.

LIST OF WATERS

Āpastamba	*Baudhāyana*	*White Yajur Veda*
1. Sarasvatī "Ye are active"	1. streaming water	1. Sarasvatī "They have taken the waters..."
2. Sea, Sindhu or river with a male name "Thou art the lord of the waters"	2. water from a well with a male name or seawater	2. eastward streaming water "Thou art the male wave"
3. the upstream wave caused by a man or an ox stepping down into the water "Thou art the male wave"	3. billowing water	3. westward streaming water "Thou art the male host"
4. downstream wave of same description as 3 "Thou art the male host"	4. water from a pool	4. water flowing downstream "Ye are busy"
5. water from a well "Ye are the pen-dwellers"	5. same as Āp.	5. water flowing upstream "Ye are powerful"
6. water flowing upstream or (water) from hail[18] "Ye are the strength of the Maruts"	6. water from a whirlpool[22]	6. water from a branch of a river[19] "Ye are the flowing around"
7. water leaping up and falling down on the same place		7. seawater (*nadīpati-*)[20] "Thou art the lord of the waters"

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[18] Acc. to Mādhava ad TS. (B.I., p. 122): "water blown upstream by the wind".

[19] *pariṇadīnām*, cf. WhYV.'s no. 6 (*apayatīḥ*), where the same formula is used. Acc. to Sāyaṇa on ŚB. 5,3,4,9: branch which later on rejoins the main river. Hir. has: *parivāhinīḥ stheti sravantīnāṃ yā āpa uccherate*, *pariṇatim* (sic), apparently referring to upsurging, overflowing water. Caland therefore translates *pariṇadīnām* as "das Überfliessende". I think, however, that we should start from the polarity of the *aprahāvarī* water (Āp. no. 7) and the *parivāhinī* water (no. 8), the first representing the water in the centre (*madhyameṣṭheyam tenāvarunddhe*, MS. 4, p. 50.7), the second the encircling water. Rendering *pariṇadīnām* by "flowing around" seems to be best in keeping with this idea.

[20] Kāty. further mentions as alternatives: seawater, muddy water, and water carrying along a piece of wood.

LIST OF WATERS (*continued*)

Āpastamba	*Baudhāyana*	*White Yajur Veda*
"Ye are the not-going-forth"[21] ((*a*)*prahāvarī*)		
8. water flowing around[19] "Ye are the flowing around"[21]		8. water from a whirlpool (*niveṣya-*) "Thou art the embryo of the waters"
9. water, drawn in the sunshine "Ye have the radiance of the sun"	7. like Āp. no. 10	9. drawn in the sunshine at place in a river where the water stands still "Ye have a sunlike skin"
10. reflecting water "Ye have a sunlike skin"	8. like Āp. no. 9	10. rainwater caught while the sun is shining "Ye have the radiance of the sun"
11. stagnant water "Ye are delightful"	9. hail	11. water from a tank "Ye are delightful"
12. hoarfrost "Ye are obedient"	10.	12. water from a well "Ye are the pen-dwellers"
13. birth water of a calf "Ye are powerful"	11.	13. hoarfrost "Ye are obedient"
14. milk "Ye are all-supporters"	12.	14. honey "Ye are highly swelling"
15. curds "Ye are supporters of men"	13.	15. birth water of a calf "Ye are powerful"
16. ghee "Ye have the brilliance of Agni"	14.	16. milk "Ye are supporters of men"
17. honey "Ye are the sap of the waters, of the plants"		17. ghee "Ye are all-supporters"
	16. Sarasvatī "They have taken the waters..."	

ANNOTATIONS

The rājasūya is also known as Varuṇasava. This latter name indicates that the royal sacrificer being anointed impersonates the god Varuṇa: "It is Varuṇa whom they anoint", as Śāṅkh. 15, 13, 4 asserts.[23] Therefore the waters, being the specific dominion of Varuṇa, hold a great place in the rājasūya: "the waters are of Varuṇa's nature, anointing him with the waters he has made him (identical with) Varuṇa."[24] In this respect the present unction differs from other unction ceremonies, where it is the remainder of the oblatory fluids by means of which the unction is administered.[25] The unction with the waters can therefore be taken as the characteristic feature of the rājasūya unction. These unction waters are themselves called *rājasūyāḥ*.[26] The present writer is under the impression that the word *rājasūya-* originally referred to the unction water, the characteristic feature of this sava, and was from there transferred to the sacrifice as a whole. Āśvalāyana seems to have preserved a trace of the original meaning when using the plural *rājasūyāḥ* (viz. waters) as the name of the sacrifice.[27] The meaning of the word *rājasūya-* could best be rendered by "king-engendering".[28] These considerations reveal at the same time the main theme of the present ceremony as well as of the unction: the king, personifying Varuṇa, the child of the waters, is born from the waters.

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[21] Formulas borrowed from MS.; cf. Caland ad Āp. 18,13,8.

[22] *niveṣṭyāḥ*, Baudh.'s karmānta (26, p. 272.9): water from a whirlpool. Baudh.'s comm. renders it by *sthāvarāḥ*, stagnant (waters). Cf. WhYV.'s no. 8, *niveṣyāḥ*, rendered as whirlpool by Sāyaṇa.

[23] To this effect cf. also the Varuṇa verses during which the sacrificer wipes his face after the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi and the proclamation connected therewith: "Varuṇa has

Let us now consider how the process of the king's Varuṇa birth is realized by means of the unction waters. The list of the waters shows, beneath the surface of the superseding symbolism of the number seventeen (or sixteen) to which we shall revert below, a clear-cut duality. Some of the waters are conceived of as male entities (*apāṃ patir*, *apāṃ garbho*, *vṛṣāsyūrmir*, *vṛṣaseno 'si*) and are in their specific formulas addressed in the singular; the others are female and addressed in the plural. The same polarity is concisely expressed in the formula used by MS. and KS. at each drawing: *devīr āpo*, *apāṃ napāt*, "divine (female) waters, son of the waters". This reminds us of the male fertility god

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fastened (or engendered) his own body...". These verses belong in fact to the unction ritual, as I argued above.

[24] MS. 4, p. 49.17. For the waters as Varuṇa's domain, H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951), p. 41 ff.

[25] Cf. Āp. 17,19,5 (cayana); 18,6,6 (vājapeya); 19,19,13 (sautrāmaṇī, cf. also Dumont, *o.c.*, no. 331 and pp. 280 f., 343); 20,20,3 (aśvamedha, cf. also Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, no. 677).

[26] Cf. the formulas MS. 2,6,8:68.9 and 15; KS. 12,6:293.7 and 13. These are the general formulas referring to the drawing of the water and the one used at the purification of the waters. TS. has in both cases *rājasūyāya citānāḥ*. On the waters being called "the rājasūya", cf. also TS. 5,6,2,1.

[27] Cf. Āśv. 9,3,1.4,1. The comm. rather unconvincingly explains the plural in the first passage as referring to the different sacrifices of which the rājasūya is composed, and in the second as referring to different kinds of rājasūyas.

[28] Cf. VS. 10,1 where the waters are called *rājasvaḥ*, König-zeugend (Weber, p. 29). On the roots *sū̆-* and their relation to birth, see above, the annotations on the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi.

surrounded by a number of female partners, such as already observed when dealing with the devikā havīṃṣi. Apaṃ napāt is not only the son of the waters: "He, the bull, engendered the embryo in them (the waters); he, the child, sucks and they kiss him."[29] In other words, the male water enters the female waters to be born from them. Thus we find in the list of specific formulas a reference to the lord, husband, of the waters and to the embryo of the waters, while the (female) waters are referred to as the "most motherly" in which Varuṇa has made his abode in the formula accompanying the pouring together of the different kinds of fluids. The idea of pairing, conception, is also expressed by TB. and MS., when they state that by the apāṃ-pati water pairing is brought about;[30] further MS. says about the water which flows downstream: "he causes through it the chief royal consort to engender offspring", while on account of the flowing-around water it is said that "he engenders offspring from the (wife) dwelling-on-the-other-side (? *pārevasyantyāḥ*)".[31] This idea when applied to the king can be identified as the "hieros gamos" of the king with the people; ŚB. 5, 3, 4, 10–11 makes this explicit in respect to the seawater (*nadīpati-*) which has as its specific formula "thou art the lord of the waters" and to the whirlpool water ("thou art the embryo of the waters"), when stating that through the seawater the anointed is made the lord of the people (*viśāṃ pati-*) and through the whirlpool-water (*niveṣya-*) which envelops him (*upaniveṣṭante*), he is made into the embryo of the people (*viśāṃ garbha-*).

Pairing and conception are, however, also expressed in another ritual idiom besides the mixing of male and female waters, which latter, though clearly traceable, seems to have fallen somewhat into the background. I refer to the purification of the waters with gold. Now gold is often conceived of as the semen, especially of Agni. Thus we are told, for instance, that Agni, conceiving sexual desire for the waters, Varuṇa's wives, poured his seed into the waters; this seed became gold.[32] This myth seems well to meet the case of the "purified" waters. The "purification" of the waters seems to refer to the cosmic process of the igneous principle entering into a union with the aquatic principle to be reborn from it:

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[29] RV. 2,35,13. For Apāṃ napāt cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 69 f.

[30] TB. 1,7,5,1; MS. 4, p. 50 For the pairing of the male and the female waters, cf. also TS. 5,6,2,3; MS. 3,4,10:57.14.

[31] MS. 4, p. 50.5 and 7.

[32] Cf. ŚB. 2,1,1,5. For gold as Agni's semen, cf. also TB. 1,1,3,8; ŚB. 2,2,3,28; 3,2,4,8. Gold is also conceived of as the semen of the aśvamedha horse, cf. ŚB. 13,1,1,3; TB. 3,8,2,4; or as Indra's semen, ŚB. 12,7,1,7. Cf. also R.B. Onians, *Origins*, 2nd ed. (London, 1954), p. 156 n. 2.

Apāṃ napāt – the bull engendering the embryo in the waters and at the same time the child of the waters –, who is invoked together with the divine female waters at the drawing of the waters, is identical with Agni.[33] The same idea seems also to be applied to Agni's celestial form, the sun, who, hidden in the Ocean, was raised from it by the gods.[34] The idea of the sun's entering the waters seems to be the purport of the sun motes (*marīci-*) mixed, according to the WhYV., with the waters, as well as of those waters which are to be drawn in the sunshine and which are called "sun-skinned" (*sūryatvacas-*) and "having the radiance of the sun" (*sūryavarcas-*).[35]

These two principles, the igneous and the aquatic, alternatingly engendering each other as in the well-known cyclical chain fire-smoke (clouds)-rain-plants-fire, form between them the cyclic course of universal life. The procreative union of fire and water, Agni and Soma (the purifying gold is called Soma's share) is reflected in the union of the brahman power and the royal power, of priest and king: "Agni is the brahman power, Soma is the royal power", as KB. 9, 5 asserts.[36] Their union, enacted by the preparation of the unction waters, engenders the king, making him the centre of their interaction. In this connection it is worthwhile to note that, according to Śāṅkh. 15, 13, 3, the hymn recited as ājyaśastra opens with: "Thou, O Agni, art Varuṇa when thou art born." The king's unction birth makes him identical with Varuṇa as well as with Agni. He combines in his person the aquatic principle (Varuṇa, Soma) as well as the igneous (Agni, the sun).[37]

In the explanation of the brāhmaṇa texts great importance is attached to the numbers sixteen or seventeen, both of which are connected with Prajāpati, the primordial man,[38] and thus imply the totality of the cosmos. ŚB. 5, 3, 4, 23 says in this connection: "he offers sixteen libations (viz. in the waters, when drawing them); they (i.e. the libations and the grahas together) are thirty-two in number; in two fluids he offers no libation: in the Sarasvatī water and in the sun motes; they (fill out the number) thirty-four; there are thirty-three gods; Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth; thus he makes him into Prājapati". Similarly MS. 4, p. 51.6 says: "there are sixteen grahas, related to Prajāpati; the pouring together is the seventeenth; the seventeenth is Prajāpati; he attains Prajāpati". TB. 1, 7, 5, 5, prescribing only sixteen fluids, explains their number in the same way: "man consists of sixteen parts". Thus the parts of the new body of the king sum up the whole of the primordial, cosmic man and identify the king with him. Baudh. prescribes that the unction fluids are to be brought together from the points of the compass (*diś-*), thus stressing the idea of the king incorporating the universe.[39] The cosmic body is assembled in a trough made of reed. Now the reed is conceived of as the representative of the primordial waters. When the aśvamedha horse is immolated the cut-off pieces are put down on a reed mat (*vaitasa- iṭasūna-*): "the horse has his birthplace (*yoni-*) in the waters; the reed is born in the waters; he makes the horse prosper through his birthplace".[40] The idea underlying the pouring together can in this way be formulated as gathering the dispersed parts of the cosmic man – Prajāpati, as is well-known, is often said to have disintegrated – in the womb to be reproduced.[41]

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[33] Cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 70. For Agni as son of the waters cf. also RV. 10,91,6; 3,9,1; AV. 1,33,1.

[34] Cf. RV. 10,72,7.

[35] It may also be noticed that the purification formula used by the WhYV., refers to the rays of the sun.

[36] Cf. KB. 10,5; 12,8; ŚB. 3,4,1,10.

[37] As to the igneous nature of the kingship under discussion it is worthwhile to notice that MS. 4, p. 49.10 considers the collected unction fluids as the lights (*citrāṇi*) of the waters, "therefore the anointed person is known as a shining thing (*citram*), *rājan-* (cf. *rāj-*, to shine) by name".

[38] Prajāpati has here, as elsewhere, superseded Varuṇa, who originally must have been the presiding deity in the present rites. For Prajāpati superseding Varuṇa, cf. J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie*, 3, p. 315 (Index s.v. Prajāpati). This may also be the reason that the original bipartite system no longer finds expression in the numerical arrangement of the list of fluids.

In this connection also the Vāyu vessels used for drawing the fluids deserve attention. In the Soma sacrifice Vāyu vessels are used for the Soma portions of different gods. Their purpose is to make the killed

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[39] At the courts of Bangkok and Pnom Penh it is till the present day customary that the unction waters are brought together from the main rivers and the different provinces (cf. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London, 1931, pp. 74 and 78ff.; G. Coedès, *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor*, Paris, 1947, p. 186). Also: Rām. 6,128,50.

[40] ŚB. 13,2,2,19; cf. TB. 3,8,20,4; 3,8,4,3; 3,8,19,2.

[41] The gathering of the embryo, which recalls AV. 1,11,2 where the embryo is said to have been brought together from the four regions of the heaven and of the earth, has a counterpart in the division of the waters over the four unction cups. This latter act might be considered to represent or rather anticipate birth (cf. the pouring out of water over the lying-in woman to promote a speedy parturition, ĀpGS. 14,14; PārGS. 1,16,1), followed by the disposal of the secundines, to wit the remainder of the fluids left over in the collective trough. Elsewhere in fact the unction is administered directly from the collective trough (cf. ŚB. 12,18,3,15 referring to the sautrāmaṇī, and Āp. 22,26,10–11, the odanasava). At any rate the division of the waters seems not to be a mere doublet. The polarity of the pouring together of the waters, brought together from the four points of the compass, and their division over the four unction vessels placed in the four directions seems to exemplify the ever recurrent cosmic process of concentration and dispersal, integration and disintegration. At the unction the waters dispersed towards the four directions return to the centre where they are concentrated again on the anointed king.

(that is: pressed out) king Soma, who had become putrid, palatable to the gods. They are named after Vāyu, the wind, who performed the purification of Soma. Vāyu is also Soma's breath (*prāṇa-*); he purifiies the dead Soma by blowing from his midst in different directions.[42] This may be interpreted as breathing new life into the dead Soma, the restoration of his prāṇa, which begins to function anew. This order of ideas seems to fit in well here: the dead and dispersed body of the cosmic man is made fit again for a new life.

A few words should still be added on the last stage of the preparation process: the offering to Rudra of the remainder left over in the collective trough. This remainder, offered to Rudra and to Death, Yama, is itself Rudra; it probably refers to the dangerous aspect of the embryonic covers and to the death-like state of the embryo before being born.[43] We have already observed the ritual realization of this idea in the ratnin offerings and in the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi, at the end of which also an offering is made to Rudra, Varuṇa or Nirṛti. The material form of this dangerous aspect, the remainder in the trough, joins the symbolism of the leavings or of the extra unit added to a number expressing totality. The remainder, being Rudra, is offered to Rudra, and thus made to revert to its place of origin, so as to become productive again.[44] This will become more evident when the present remainder rite is compared to its parallel, the offerings of the unction leavings in the house of one of the royal consorts or of the heir apparent.[45] This latter rite will be dealt with separately in more detail. We shall then have the opportunity to observe, as it were in the flesh, the workings of the remainder providing for new production and continuity. When set against each other the two rites refer respectively to the dangerous and to the beneficial aspects of the fertility process, involved in the unction rites.

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[42] Cf. MS. 4,5,8; TS. 6,4,7,2; ŚB. 4,1,3,1–10.

[43] For the correspondence: entering the womb – death, which stands out most clearly, in the dīkṣā, cf. the next chapter, Preparation of the sacrificer.

[44] It may be remembered that Rudra is a fertility god, uniting in his person both the dangerous and beneficial aspects of the fertility process (cf. J. J. Meyer, *o.c.*, 2, 65 f.; 3, 215 note).

[45] It is significant that both rites coïncide in the version of the WhYV.

XI

PREPARATION OF THE SACRIFICER

TS. 1, 8, 12 and 16a–6; TB. 1, 7, 6, 4–8 and 10, 1–2; MS. 2, 6, 9 and 11 (70.11) and 12 (71.4); 4, 4, 3 and 5 (55.6ff.); KS. 15,7 and 8 (215,4).
VS. 10, 8. 9. 16. 25; ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 20–37 and 4, 1, 15–17 and 4, 3, 27
Baudh. 12,9 and 14 (106.19ff.); Āp. 18, 14 and 16,9–10 and 18,1–4; Hir. 13, 5, 22-25 and 35, and 6, 13–14. Kāty. 15, 5, 7–22, 28–29, and 6, 34, and 7, 25–28.

The sacrificer is prepared for the unction by the following rites:

a. he is clothed with special garments,
b. he is purified and ointment is applied to his eyes and body,
c. he eats,
d. he is proclaimed with the āvid formulas (āvedana),
e. he is equipped with a bow and arrows,
f. he is made to raise his arms.

These rites, especially the first four, show a marked resemblance to the dīkṣā rites.

The WhYV., acc. to Kāty., prescribes of these rites only: the clothing (a), which is followed by the presentation of the bow and arrows (e), and the āvedana (d); the raising of the arms is in the WhYV.-version performed only later on, immediately before the unction.

The place where these rites are performed is according to Āp. the āgnīdhra hut. During the proclamation the sacrificer is led out of this hut.[1]

a. *Special apparel*

The sacrificer dons special apparel, consisting of a number of garments. For each garment the saṃhitās give a formula indicating its significance. The number of garments or formulas differs. TB. and TS. mention two garments: a *tārpya-* garment[2] and a turban (*uṣṇīṣa-*). The relevant formulas are respectively: "thou art the amnion (*ulba-*) of the royal power" for the tārpya and "thou art the womb (*yoni-*) of the royal power" for the uṣṇīṣa.

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[1] Āp. 18, 14, 9–10. The other sūtras are not explicit. Baudh. seems to indicate the sadas; having stored the remainder of the unction fluid, when it has been divided over the four unction vessels, in the sadas, the adhvaryu "standing there" orders the garment etc. to be brought for the preparation of the sacrificer (*athātraiva tiṣṭhan yācati*; 12,9 : 98.12). This seems to be also the opinion of Hir., who prescribes that the sacrificer, when being proclaimed with the āvid formulas, is led outside the sadas (13, 5, 23: *yajamānam . . . bahiḥsadasam abhyudānayati*).

The Maitrāyaṇīyas prescribe three garments and three formulas: a *tārpya-* garment ("thou art the amnion of the royal power"), a *pāṇḍara-* garment[3] ("thou art the womb of the royal power") and the turban ("thou art the umbilical cord, *nābhi-*, of the royal power").[4]

Baudh. as usual sides exclusively with its (TB.) basis texts, prescribing two garments; the uṣṇīsa is according to him worn round the waist, at the height of the navel (*abhīva nābhim uṣṇīṣaṃ paryasyati*).

Āp. and Hir. combine the views of both the Taittirīyakas and the Maitrāyaṇīyas. Āp. prescribes two garments, a *tārpya-* and a *pāṇḍara-uṣṇīṣa-*, but records also the view of "some (authorities)" that there are three garments. Hir. mentions the *uṣṇīṣa-* as a third garment, but neither of them mentions the third formula.[5]

The WhYV. prescribes four garments: *tārpya-*, *pāṇḍva-*, upper garment, turban, which are characterized by the formulas: "thou art the amnion (resp.: the chorion, the womb, the umbilical cord) of the royal power". For the turban two ways of wearing it are given in the WhYV.: it can be wound round the head while the two ends are tucked in the front part of the upper garment, which latter is worn in the nivīta way (i.e. round the neck, covering both shoulders); the other way of wearing the turban is round the waist, at the height of the navel, as is also prescribed by Baudh.

The unction apparel is taken off after the unction with the formula: "thou art Indra's place of birth, supporting man".[6] The adhvaryu, using

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[2] The word *tārpya-* is differently explained. Kāty.: a linen garment (*kṣauma-*) or a triply soaked garment (*tripāṇa-*), or a garment soaked in ghee. Hir.: a garment made of tṛpā bark (cf. also Caland ad Āp. 18, 5, 7 and Baudh. 25, 34:270.5). Kāty. further mentions that in the tārpya garment forms related to the sacrifice (*yajnarūpāṇi*) are stitched (cf. ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 20: "in that (garment) all the forms related to the sacrifice are stitched"). The comm. explains this as the sacrificial implements (i.e. probably images thereof). Cf., however, Āp. 22, 16, 3 where a tārpya garment is mentioned which is decorated with images of the dhiṣṇiyas (*dhiṣṇiyānāṃ rūpam*) (i.e. probably a series of circles).

[3] *Pāṇḍara-* is explained by Āp. 18, 14, 2 as white (*śveta-*). ŚB. and Kāty. have *pāṇḍva-*, explained by the comm. as white or as red (cf. BĀU. 2, 13, where *pāṇḍara-* is associated with the moon, whereas KauṣUp. 4, 3 associates this colour with the sun). The pāṇḍara garment seems to be the garment of king Soma, who in BĀU. 2, 1, 3.16 is described as *pāṇḍaravāsas-*.

[4] Cf. Vārāha 3, 3, 2, 30 and Mānava. Vārāha has instead of the pāṇḍara garment a clean linen one (*kṣauma- saṃśuddha-*).

[5] Cf. Āp. 18, 14, 1.3; Hir. 13, 5, 23.

[6] The source of this formula is MS. (2, p. 70.11) which reads, however, instead of *janadhās-* (supporting man) *janaya* (give birth) (cf. also KS. 15, 7:214.19).

an antelope horn, loosens one, two or all garments[7] and throws them on the utkara with the formula: "protect from the sky".[8]

The special unction apparel raises the problem what should be done with the dīkṣita clothing. This problem is dealt with in the WhYV. Two solutions are given: 1. the dīkṣita garment is changed for the unction apparel and is put on again after the unction and related rites, when the normal Soma ritual resumes its course;[9] 2. the sacrificer keeps on his unction apparel during the rest of the Soma ritual till the final bath; he takes one of the unction garments with him into the final bath, and on coming out of it covers himself with it, apparently leaving the dīkṣita garment in the water.[10] The unction apparel is then afterwards, when the omentum of the anūbandhyā cow has been offered[11] or at the breaking-up iṣṭi[12] given to the priests.[13]

b. *Purification and application of ointment*

Āp. describes this rite in the following words: "with a hundred and one bunches of darbha grass (the adhvaryu) purifies (*pavayati*) the sacrificer; (the sacrificer) applies ointment to his eyes (*āṅkte*) with a hundred and one darbha bunches, with fifty the right eye and with fifty-one the left eye".[14] According to some authorities ointment is also applied to the sacrificer's body (*abhyaṅkte*), as is brought out by Āp. 18,14,8 mentioning the opinion of some authorities (*eke*) on the order of the rites involved: "according to some the order of the acts is: application of ointment to the eyes, to the body; eating, clothing" (*āṅkte, 'bhyaṅkte, 'śnāti, vāsaḥ paridhatte*). These *eke* can be identified as the Kāṭhakas. KS. 22,13:69.2 we find literally the same.[15] The importance of this identification lies in the fact that the KS. passage deals with the dīkṣā.[16] It demonstrates the intimate connection of the present rites with the dīkṣā and strongly suggests that the present rites, if not identical with the dīkṣā, at least originate from the same source, where the features of both the present rites and the dīkṣā were already fully developed.

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[7] The antelope horn is one of the paraphernalia of the dīkṣita, cf. CH. no. 17.

[8] Thus Āp. following, with respect to the formulas as well as to the act itself, MS. (2, p. 70. 11; 4, p. 55.6) (cf. Vārāha 3, 3, 2, 50). Hir. mentions only the loosening of the garment with the formula: "protect from the sky". TB., followed by Baudh., does not mention the loosening or putting-off of the unction apparel; the formula: "protect from the sky" is then added to the unction formulas (cf. TB. 1, 7, 8, 5; Baudh. 12, 11:101.17).

[9] Kāty. 15, 5, 16.

[10] Kāty. 15, 7, 25; cf. ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 25. For leaving the dīkṣita garment in the avabhṛtha-water, cf. CH. no. 254.

[11] Cf. CH. no. 256.

[12] Cf. CH. no. 259.

[13] Kāty. 15, 7, 26.

[14] Āp. 18, 14, 5–6. According to Mānava fresh butter (*navanita-*). Fresh butter is also used for anointing in the normal Soma dīkṣā (cf. TS. 6, 1, 1, 5; AB. 1, 3, 5–6).

[15] Cf. also MS. 3, 6, 2:61.18 where, however, the eating (*aśnāti*) is left out.

Whereas Āp. prescribes the purification as well as the anointment, the other texts only prescribe either the purification (TB., Baudh.) or the anointment (MS., Hir., Vārāha, Mānava). The reason for the defective description seems to lie in the congruence of the dīkṣā and the present rites; having been performed in the dīkṣā ceremony before the unction festival, the present rites can be limited to the essential differences, such as the use of a hundred and one darbha bunches instead of twenty-one as in the case of the dīkṣā. Thus we can also understand why the WhYV. leaves out the purification, the anointment and the eating.

c. *Eating*

As part of his preparation the sacrificer should eat curds, an udumbara fruit and young barley sprouts (*śaṣpāṇi, tokma*; TB., Baudh., Āp., Hir.). Vārāha and Mānava further mention honey.

The eating occurs also as a dīkṣā rite.[17]

d. *Proclamation*

Then, having made the sacrificer touch water, the adhvaryu leads him out of the āgnīdhra hut (or the sadas), making him pronounce the seven āvid formulas: "Manifest[18] is Agni Gṛhapati; manifest is Indra of eminent fame; manifest is Pūṣan the all-knowing; manifest are Mitra and Varuṇa increasing the holy order (*ṛta-*); manifest are Heaven and Earth of fixed order (*dhṛtavrata-*); manifest is divine Aditi of all forms; manifest is N.N., descendant of N.N., in this folk (*viś-*), this kingdom; for great lordship, for great overlordship, for great lordship over the people".[19]

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[16] Cf. CH. no. 14.

[17] CH. do not mention the eating; cf., however, TS. 6, 1, 1, 4; KS. 22, 13; Āp. 10, 6, 7–10. According to Āp. the dīkṣita should eat rice, butter, curds and honey. The young barley shoots (*śaṣpāṇi*) apparently belong to the sphere of the surā cult, as they are the basic material for the preparation of the surā beverage; TB, 1, 7, 6, 5 declares that by being made to eat the barley shoots he is made the recipient of a surā offering (*surābalim evainaṃ karoti*).

[18] *āvinna-* (TS.) or *āvitta-* (MS., KS.); VS. opens with *āvir* but has in the following formulas *āvitta-*. These forms can be derived from *vid-* to know (Keith: "notified") as well as from *vid-* to find (Caland: "Vorhanden") (cf. Pāṇini 8,2,58: *vitto bhagapratyayor*). Both meanings seem to be present here, cf. below, annotations.

To these formulas the BlYV. adds the proclamation formula pronounced already before at the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi: "This is your king, o Bhāratas; Soma is the king of us, brahmins".[20]

The present proclamation rite seems to me to correspond with the proclamation of the dīkṣita in the Soma ritual.[21]

e. *Bow and arrows*[22]

First the bow is presented to the sacrificer by the adhvaryu with the formula: "Thou art the Vṛtra-slaying bolt of Indra, with thee may he slay Vṛtra". Then the adhvaryu gives three arrows with: "Ye are overcomers of foes". Āp. prescribes that the adhvaryu, when presenting the arrows, should whisper: "Protect him in front, protect him from behind, protect him from above".[23] When receiving the arrows out of the hands of the adhvaryu the sacrificer says: "Protect me in front, (when I move) in the direction (of the enemy) protect me (*anvāñcaṃ mā pāta*), from the quarters of space protect me, from all injurious powers protect me".

The WhYV. gives the following description of this rite: the adhvaryu draws the bow with: "thou art Indra's Vṛtra-slaying (force)". Then he rubs both arms of the sacrificer with resp. "thou art Mitra", and "thou art Varuṇa".[24] Then he hands the bow to the sacrificer with the formula: "with thee may he slay Vṛtra". Next he takes up the three arrows: "thou art *dṛbā*", "thou art *rujā*", "thou art *kṣumā*"[25] and hands them to the sacrificer with: "protect him in front, protect him from behind, protect him from the quarters of space".

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[19] The seventh formula, mentioning the name of the sacrificer, is left out in the WhYV.-version. Instead the formulas open with: "manifest, o men" (*āvir maryāḥ*), without revealing the name, which is *anirukta-*, unexpressed, and therefore implies acc. to ŚB. 5,3,5,31 that Prajāpati is aimed at (*āvir maryāḥ ityaniruktaṃ, Prajāpatir vā aniruktas, tad enaṃ Prajāpataya āvedayati*).

[20] According to Mādhava (ad TS. 1,8,12,2) the second part of this formula: "Soma is the king of us, brahmins" is again whispered by the brahman priest. The WhYV. leaves out the formula here, but adds it, later on, to the unction formulas.

[21] Cf. CH. no. 18.

[22] For the BlYV. I follow here, for the sake of brevity, the description of Āp. (18,14, 10–13) and the formulas given by TS. (11,8,12, i-l). The other texts agree in the main. Hir.'s text has here a hiatus.

[23] The latter formula is not on record in the saṃhitās or brāhmaṇas; it is apparently a contamination of MS. 2,6,9:69.9 and ŚB. 5,3,5,30 (Caland).

[24] According to the comm. ad Kāty. 15,5,18 the arms of the sacrificer are meant. Cf. the next rite, the raising of the sacrificer's arms.

[25] The meaning of these words is uncertain; ŚB. 5,3,5,29 identifies them with the three parts of the universe: earth (*dṛbā*), intermediate space (*rujā*) and heaven (*kṣumā*). The Kāṇva recension has resp. *rujā*, *drubā* and *kṣupā*.

This rite does not occur in the dīkṣā ceremony. The bow and the arrows will be used only later on, in the chariot drive, and Baudh. accordingly permits deferring the presentation of the bow and arrows till after the unction.

f. *Raising the arms*

The adhvaryu raises the arms of the sacrificer while reciting the triṣṭubh stanza:

"Gold-hued at the appearance of the dawns, iron-pillared at the rising of the sun, O Mitra and Varuṇa mount the pit (*garta-*)[26] and thence behold ye Aditi and Diti."[27]

This is the Taittirīyaka-version (TB., Baudh.). Āp., following MS. and KS., has the sacrificer himself raise his arms with: "thou art Mitra" and "thou art Varuṇa"; then the adhvaryu recites the triṣṭubh over the raised arms.

The WhYV. places the raising of the arms later, immediately before the unction. Kāty. leaves a choice between the Mitra-Varuṇa formulas and the triṣṭubh.

The counterpart of the present rite, the lowering of the arms, is performed after the chariot drive.[28] The formulas for lowering the arms are again: "thou art Mitra" and "thou art Varuṇa". The sacrificer then holds his hands over the āmikṣā which is to be offered to the Viśve Devāḥ[29] with the formula: "I (unite myself) with the Viśve Devāḥ".[30] In the WhYV. the formula for holding the hands over the āmikṣā (in this case: for Mitra and Varuṇa) is: "I lower ye two, the force displaying (*vīryakṛt-*) arms of Indra."

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[26] *garta-* is the name of the pits in which the central poles (*sthūna-*) of a house are placed (cf. L. Renou, "La maison védique", *J. A.* 1939, p. 484f.). Likewise *garta-* will mean here the pit in which the iron pillar referred to in the stanzas is raised. Sāyaṇa, apparently thinking of the sun chariot, takes *garta-* here as the chariot seat. On this stanza, cf. also Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, 3, 224f. and J. Auboyer, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne* (Paris, 1949), p. 87.

[27] Thus TS.; MS. and KS. differ somewhat: "gold-hued" and "iron-pillared" are there attributes of *garta-*, not of Mitra and Varuṇa; instead of *cakṣathām* (behold ye) they read *cakrāthe* (? ye have made yourself Aditi and Diti). VS. (10,16) offers a variant of this stanza, in which also Indra is brought into the picture: "gold-hued at the appearance of the dawns, ye two, Indra and Sūrya, rise; mount, o Mitra and Varuṇa, the pit and behold ye Aditi and Diti".

[28] Cf. Āp. 18,18,1ff.; Hir. 13,6,13f.; Baudh. 12,14:106.10; Kāty. 15,6,34.

[29] On this āmikṣā see the chapter: Unction festival, generalities. In the WhYV. the āmikṣā is destined for Mitra and Varuṇa.

[30] The Maitrāyaṇīyas have this formula preceded by: "Thou art the real (*sat-*), be thou real for me; thou art the full, be thou full for me; thou art the whole (*sarva-*), be thou whole for me; thou art imperishable, be thou imperishable for me" (quoted pratīkena MS. 2, 6,12:71.4; cf. 1,4,2:48.9).

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It is highly improbable that the sacrificer should keep his arms raised so long; his activities during the intervening stages imply the normal use of his arms. The raising and lowering of the arms belong to the unction proper which is, so to say, framed between the raising and the lowering of the arms. Kāty. has the arms raised immediately before the unction; and it is with raised arms that the king should be anointed.[31] Originally the ceremonial lowering of the arms will have been performed immediately after the unction. The raising and the lowering will have been pushed wider apart by the effect of the accumulation of rites and especially by the insertion of the chariot drive.

ANNOTATIONS

When describing the present rites, it will already have been seen that they have much in common with the dīkṣā, and in the case of the purification and anointment it has been observed that the rules pertaining to the dīkṣā can be applied directly to the preparation of the royal sacrificer for his unction. Originally the Soma dīkṣā and the royal consecration will have been practically identical.

a. As is well known the purpose of the dīkṣā is to prepare the sacrificer for his rebirth through the sacrifice by reducing him to the embryonic state.[32] This idea could not receive a more clear expression than it received in the formulas referring to the unction apparel: the royal embryo is enveloped in an amnion and a chorion, his umbilical cord is fastened and he is placed in the womb. Special interest attaches in this connection to the tārpya garment. We find it also in the aśvamedha sacrifice: at the place where the sacrificial horse is immolated a tārpya garment is spread,[33] Baudh. uses a tārpya garment to strangle the horse and later on to cover the mahiṣī and the dead horse at their symbolic copulation.[34] We may interpret this as meaning that the horse, being immolated, is covered again with the embryonic covers, and through his copulation with the mahiṣī enters the womb again to be reborn.[35] The congruency between death and entering the maternal womb is also to be observed in the dīkṣā; thus it is stated that the sacrificer being consecrated dies.[36] After the dīkṣā the sacrificer is reborn through, or rather out of, the sacrifice. Thus it can be understood that the tārpya garment is identified with the sacrifice itself,[37] which identification is stressed by the decoration of the tārpya with figures related to the sacrifice. Donning the tārpya the royal sacrificer dies and enters the maternal womb; taking it off afterwards he is literally born out of the sacrifice.

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[31] Cf. ŚB. 5,4,1,17; MS. 4, p. 53.16. MS.'s reading: *ūrdhvabāhus tiṣṭhantam abhiṣiñcati*, should be emended to *ūrdhvabāhuṃs* (accusative) (cf. Vārāha 3,3,2,48).

[32] Cf. S. Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 102ff.; H. Oldenberg, *R. d. V.*, p. 405ff.

[33] Cf. TB. 3,9,20,1; Āp. 20,17,8; Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, p. 275.

[34] Baudh. 15,28:232.9; 234.8.

[35] Cf. W. Kirfel, "Der Aśvamedha und der Puruṣamedha," in: *Beiträge ... W. Schubring dargebracht*, *Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien*, no. 7, pp. 39–50 (Hamburg, 1951), who considers the cohabitation of the mahiṣī and the dead horse a means to obtain offspring and compares it with the niyoga.

Already when dealing with the iṣṭi for Agni-Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa the idea of the king's decay and revival has been observed. Here we are confronted with the ritual "mechanism" of this process.[38]

b/c. Dealing with the Soma dīkṣā, MS. and KS. state the purport of the anointment, of the eating and of the dīkṣā garment in the following words: "these are (the parts of) the body of man, having become whole bodied he undertakes the dīkṣā".[39] On account of the similarity of the rites under discussion and the corresponding rites of the Soma dīkṣā these words may safely be applied to the present case. It may be concluded from it that the royal sacrificer, as well as the dīkṣita, is at the moment of his conception provided with a (new) body. It is further worthwhile noticing that the anointment of the body of the dīkṣita is equated to the sprinkling of ghee on the oblation (abhighāraṇa).[40] In this way the consecrated person is made into an oblation, which idea is also expressed elsewhere.[41] This perfectly fits in the scheme of the sacrificer's sacrificial death and rebirth as set forth above.

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[36] JUB. 3,9,4: *atha ya etam etad dīkṣayanti tad dvitīyaṃ mriyate ... mṛtasya vāvaiṣa tadā rūpaṃ bhavati*. The resemblance of the dīkṣā to funeral rites has already been observed by S. Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 107. Cf. also H. Oldenberg, *R. d. V.*, p. 407, who, however, fails to appreciate the congruency between death and entering the maternal womb when he looks for "eine Darstellung des Todes des alten Menschen"; the sacrificer's being reduced to the embryonic state is exactly the representation he looks for. The dīkṣā shares this double aspect with the "rites de passages" at large, cf. v. d. Leeuw, *La Religion*, p. 190ff. We shall meet it again when dealing with the unction itself.

[37] TB. 1,3,7,1; 3,9,20,1.

[38] Perhaps these data on the unction apparel could provide a clue to a general theory on the magic power of clothes (cf. such expressions as "investing with authority"). The fact that at the rājasūya the clothes are taken off again does not make it a special case. The maternal womb, the embryonic covers are ambivalent (cf. the polarity of Anumati-Nirṛti). With regard to the dangerous aspect taking off and throwing or offering (in order to remove it) is prescribed. In its beneficial aspect the yoni is a *pratiṣṭhā-*, a firm basis. Here we cannot go further into this subject. Suffice it to note that more than hitherto, the facts of the Vedic ritual might be turned to account.

[39] KS. 22,13:69.2: *āṅkte, 'bhyāṅkte, 'śnāti, vāsaḥ paridhatte, etā vai puruṣasya tanvas, sarvatanūr eva bhūtvā dīkṣām upaiti* (cf. MS. 3,6,2:61.18).

[40] Cf. KS. 23,1:73.1; MS. 3,6,2:62.2.

The purification of the sacrificer with a hundred and one darbha bunches seems to be related to his being provided with a new body and a new life. The hundred and one darbha bunches represent, according to TB. 1, 7,6,4–5, the hundred vital forces (*āyus-* and *vīrya-*) of man, while the sacrificer himself (*ātman-*) is the hundred and first; being himself the hundred and first the sacrificer encloses the hundred vital forces and becomes complete through the purification (*yāvān eva puruṣaḥ, tasmin vīryaṃ dadhāti*).[42] Interesting is also the view expressed by the brāhmaṇas on the purification of the dīkṣita. In the dīkṣā twenty-one darbha stalks and the successive numbers of the stalks used in the purification put the sacrificer in relation with a series of cosmic entities: two stalks – day, night; three stalks – three divisions of space; five – the sacrifice (which is often considered quinquepartite); six – the seasons; seven – the metres; nine – the breaths; twenty-one – ten fingers, ten toes, the twenty-first being the sacrificer himself (*ātma-*).[43] Starting with the cosmic entities day and night the passage works up to man himself, who being the twenty-first integrates all cosmic entities in himself. In his new body the sacrificer embodies the whole universe.[44]

d. The āvid formulas too present a configuration of cosmic entities (gods), which are united in the first or last of the series. This uniting entity is the sacrificer himself or the prototype of the sacrificer, the cosmic man Prajāpati.[45] TB. says on the āvid formulas: "they (the formulas or the gods evoked by them) cause him to come to *āvid*" (*āvidam evainaṃ gamayanti*); the meaning of this statement is according to Bhāskara: "they make him come to the qualities of the gods enumerated in the formulas" (*āvidam abhimukhyena vettavyaṃ labdhavyaṃ gṛhapatitvādikaṃ gamayanti*). In other words: the qualities are obtained by the sacrificer (who pronounces the formulas himself) and he manifests himself (*āvinna-* N.N.) as enclosing them all.

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[41] Cf. e.g. KB. 7,3.

[42] It may also be noticed that purification in the Vedic ritual is associated with wind and with the prāṇas, the vital forces represented as winds circulating through the body (cf. e.g. TB. 3,2,5,11; 3,3,4,4; ŚB. 1,8,1,44). As above in connection with the so-called Vāyu vessels used for drawing the unction fluids, the idea of purification is akin to restoring the prāṇas, the vital breaths.

[43] TS. 6,1,1,7–8; cf. MS. 3,6,3:63.6ff.; KS. 23,1:74.1ff.; ŚB. 3,1,3,19ff.

[44] In another way the same idea is expressed in connection with the dīkṣita garment, which is said to be connected with all the gods, cf. TS. 6,1,1,3.

[45] In the BlYV. version first the gods and their domains or functions are mentioned, and last the sacrificer. The WhYV., however, does not mention the sacrificer's name but begins with: "manifest, O men", without any further indication. ŚB. 5,3,5,31 explains this as an implicit reference to Prajāpati ("the unexpressed, *anirukta-*, is Prajāpati"). The fact that no name is mentioned here is probably related to his shrouded condition as an embryo; his name is mentioned later on at the unction, his birth.

ŚB. and MS., however, unmistakably speak of announcing, proclaiming the sacrificer *to* the gods.[46] Adhering to this Weber considers the forms *āvinna-*, *āvitta-* as perfect participles of a deponens and translates: "Agni, etc., hat ihn gesehen, erkundet". This reasoning seems, however, too one-sided to meet the requirements of the always many-sided Indian imagination. It should be taken into account that the godhead is for the Indian mind at once immanent and transcendent. The outward act of his announcement to the gods coïncides with his integrating and manifesting them in himself.[47]

TB. connects with the āvedana the image of Indra's battle against Vṛtra at daybreak: "Indra raised his bolt, he cleft the sky; that became Aryaman's path (i.e. the sun's path along the sky); with the formula: 'manifest are Heaven and Earth of fixed order' he took refuge with Heaven and Earth; impelled (or brought forth, *prasūta-*) by them he threw his bolt against Vṛtra". We may interpret this passage as the rise of the sun, cleaving its path along the sky and slaying the all-enveloping (*vṛtra-*) darkness. Viewed in this way the sacrificer is at the āvedana represented with a new cosmic body, on the point of being born, like Indra the sun, when about to rise and slay Vṛtra.

e. TB.'s reference to Indra's slaying Vṛtra in his explanation of the āvedana is paralleled by the connection established by the brāhmaṇas between the purification and anointment of the Soma dīkṣita and Indra's victory over Vṛtra on the other hand. On account of the anointment TS. says: "Indra slew Vṛtra; his (Vṛtra's) eyeball fell away, it became ointment"; as to the darbha grass used for purifying the dīkṣita, the same text explains: "Indra slew Vṛtra; he died upon the waters; of the waters what was fit for the sacrifice, pure and divine, that went out of the waters

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[46] But even then this proclamation is made with a view to their attributes or rather the acquisition of these attributes, cf. ŚB. 5,3,5,33: *āvitto indro vṛddhaśravā iti, kṣattraṃ vā indras, tad enaṃ kṣattrāyāvedayati.*

[47] A clear instance of such opposites which do not exclude but rather supplement each other is provided by TS. 6,4,1,2: "Go *to* Mitra and Varuṇa (the representatives of the vital breaths), thus he places breath *in* the offspring". Cf. also the *ātmayājin-*, who considers the sacrificial acts as related to himself, as against the *devayājin-*, who considers them to be related to the gods (ŚB. 11,2,6,13–14), and those upaniṣad passages where *adhyātmam*, related to the self, is paralleled by *adhidevatam*, related to the gods (Cf. H. Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung*, p. 57).

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and became darbha grass".[48] The presentation of the bow and arrows again resumes this theme in an explicit form: the bow is in the formulas referred to as Indra's Vṛtra-slaying bolt. Though these weapons will play an actual role only later on in the chariot drive and do not belong to the paraphernalia of the dīkṣita, their presentation at this moment falls perfectly in line with the present rites. It has already been seen that Indra's victory over Vṛtra is equal to his birth out of the enveloping grip in which Vṛtra (the coverer, restrainer) holds the universe, and corresponds to the sunrise. Now the royal sacrificer is by means of the presentation of the bow, Indra's Vṛtra-slaying bolt, identified with Indra and put in a condition to perform, like Indra, the feat of his birth.

f. The raising of the arms strikes a different note. Here the notion of the axis mundi has a leading part. A brief analysis of the triṣṭubh stanza accompanying this act will make this clear. Mitra and Varuṇa mount the pit (*garta-*) in which an iron pillar is planted (MS. and KS. read *áyaḥ-sthūnam* referring to *gartam*), or rather they mount the pillar itself (TS., reading *áyasthūnau*, makes it refer to Mitra and Varuṇa). They do so at the time of the sun's rising.[49] Miss Auboyer, who analyses this stanza at some length,[50] adequately connects it with the (later) conception of the throne-pillar of king Vikramāditya which rises with the sun to the zenith and equally descends with the sun to the subterranean abode of the goddess Prabhā (cf. the lowering of the arms). Against this background the raising of the arms of the king may therefore be interpreted as the cosmogonic act of raising the axis mundi; and so we see the king, when receiving the unction, standing erect with raised arms on the throne, as the personification of the cosmic pillar resting on the navel of the earth (the throne) and reaching up to the sky.[51]

In this way the lowering of the arms seems to correlate with the setting of the sun, cyclical death and entering the maternal womb again; but

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[48] Cf. TS. 6,1,1,5–6; MS. 3,6,3.

[49] For the relation of Mitra and Varuṇa with the rising of the sun, cf. e.g. RV. 7,82,3; TS. 6,4,8,3. In this connection it is interesting that in VS.'s version of this stanza Indra and Sūrya are referred to.

[50] J. Auboyer, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*, pp. 79 and 87, n. 4.

[51] That the king at the unction stands on the throne is prescribed by Vārāha 3,3,2,48. The symbolism of the throne as the "navel of the earth" will be dealt with in the chapter on the enthronement. For the connection between the axis mundi and the navel of the earth, cf. J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 83ff. As to the king reaching to the sky cf. MS. 4,4,3:53.16: "he anoints him, while (the anointed) is standing with raised arms; the first pṛṣṭhastotra will be sung as a bṛhatsāman; he makes him reach to the sky" (the bṛhatsāman is often connected with the sky).

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there is still another feature in this act: the king lowering his arms holds his hands above an āmikṣā. This āmikṣā has a feeding, invigorating effect; it may be considered the first feeding of the newly-born child, which is in need of invigoration after the feat of its sunlike rise from the subterranean womb. To this effect may be adduced what KB. 13,2 teaches about the āmikṣā which is offered to Mitra and Varuṇa at the morning service of the normal Soma sacrifice:[52] "the sacrifice is of the nature of Mitra and Varuṇa; during the morning service it is born; the suckling is fed only on milk; it is as though he lays the newly-born one at the breast (of the mother)".[53] The idea of feeding is also present in case the āmikṣā is destined for the Viśve Devāḥ; in that case it is put in terms of the relation king-people: "the subjects (*prajāḥ*) are of the nature of the Viśve Devāḥ (the Viśve Devāḥ are often identified with the people, the *viś-*); these (subjects) he makes his food".[54] Here we should also take into consideration that the people, as we have observed before, are the womb of kingship. So we can conclude that by lowering his arms over the āmikṣā for Mitra and Varuṇa he enters into contact with the maternal womb, not primarily in the sense of death and new conception – the Nirṛti aspect – but in the sense of being invigorated, fed.

To sum up it may be said that the present rites turn the royal sacrificer into a cosmic embryo about to be born. In the solar scheme of reference he is the sun, about to rise, or he is Indra raising his bolt to crush Vṛtra; he raises the cosmic pillar, which is mounted by Mitra and Varuṇa or Indra and Sūrya at daybreak. The cosmogonic implication of the king's birth, thus prepared, stands out more clearly in his representing himself as the rising cosmic pillar.

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[52] Cf. CH. no. 121.

[53] This seems to refer to the domestic ritual of the first suckling which forms part of the birth ritual, cf. e.g. PārGS. 1,16,19.

[54] TB. 1,7,10,2.

XII

MOUNTING THE QUARTERS OF SPACE

(*DIGVYĀSTHĀPANAM*)

TS. 1,8,13; TB. 1,7,7; MS. 2,6,10; 4,4,4; KS. 15,7; VS. 10,10–14; ŚB. 5,4,1,3–8. Baudh. 12, p. 100. 5–8; Āp. 18,14,17–15,1; Hir. 13,5,24; Kāty. 15,5,23.

When the sacrificer has been clad and equipped for the unction ceremony, the adhvaryu instructs him to mount the quarters of space (*diśaḥ*) by making a step in each of the five directions. The adhvaryu instructs the sacrificer each time with a formula, associating the relevant direction with a number of entities referring to the sacrifice or to the cosmos, to wit: a metre, a stoma, a sāman, a divinity (or, in the WhYV.-version, a season) and a (socio-cosmical) "substance" (*draviṇa-*.)[1] Thus the first formula runs: "do thou mount the kindling (quarter) (*samidh-*); let the gāyatrī of metres help thee, the trivṛt stoma, the rathantara sāman, the deity Indra, the force (*draviṇa-*) (of the) brahman class". All formulas have the same form and are summarized in the following table:

direction	*metre*	*stoma*	*sāman*	*divinity*	*draviṇam*
east (*samidh*)	gāyatrī	trivṛt	rathantara	Agni (spring)	brahman
south (*ugrā*)	triṣṭubh	pañcadaśa	bṛhat	Indra (summer)	kṣattram
west (*virāj*)	jagatī	saptadaśa	vairūpa	Maruts (rainy season)	viś
north (*udīcī*)	anuṣṭubh	ekaviṃśa	vairāja	Mitra-Varuṇa (autumn)	balam (MS.: puṣṭam, thriving, growth)
zenith (*ūrdhvā*)	paṅkti	triṇava-trayas-triṃśa	śakvara-raivata	Bṛhaspati (winter)	varcas (MS.: phalam, fruit)

The indication of most of the directions with substitute names (*samidh* etc.) has given rise to differences as to the order of succession of the

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[1] Baudh. and Kāty. have these formulas said by the sacrificer himself, though they suit the adhvaryu better.

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directions. The above order of succession can be inferred from the VS. which gives clear names to the directions. MS. and KS., however, call the third direction (called by TS. *virāj*) *prācī*, east, thus apparently beginning in the west and working up through the south, the east and the north to the zenith. MS. and KS. therefore seem to prescribe a counter-clockwise order of succession.

A peculiarity of this rite is that the sacrificer, according to the BlYV., should perform the mounting of the quarters in mind only (*manasā*).[2] Kāty., however, has the sacrificer actually perform five steps.

The mounting of the quarters has a counterpart in the iṣṭi called offerings to the quarters of space (in order to remove them) (*diśām aveṣṭayaḥ*) offered at the end of the daśapeya in lieu of its breaking-up iṣṭi.[3]

ANNOTATIONS

Through this rite the sacrificer ascends to the zenith: "from the quarters he goes to the heaven (*svarga- loka-*)" or "he 'mounts' the seasons and the year so that all lies beneath him".[4] At the same time he wins the quarters of space or the seasons, thus mastering the whole of the universe in respect to space as well as to time. The divisions of space (the quarters) and time (the seasons) are grouped together with the powers of the sacrifice (metres, stomas, sāmans) and the forces which constitute between them the social cosmos (brahman, kṣattra, viś, supplemented by force and lustre). Here again we can observe the symbolism of numbers: the whole is articulated on the number five; the universe is divided into four parts with as its centre the fifth, highest quarter (zenith), which encompasses the whole: "the heaven is the quarters of space" (*diśo vai svargo lokaḥ*) as MS. (4, p. 54.1) has it.[5] Thus by performing the fifth step the sacrificer appropriates the whole universe. It is perhaps interesting that here also

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[2] According to the comm. on Āp. and Hir. the adhvaryu makes the sacrificer step in each direction, stepping himself after him in mind. Caland, however, plausibly opines that the relevant sūtra (Āp. 18,15,1) should be interpreted – by emending *ca* into *vā* – as two alternatives: the sacrificer is made to perform the steps (actually) or he makes them in mind only.

[3] An interesting parallel of the present rite is to be found in the Hungarian coronation where the king, on horseback, makes movements to the points of the compass, while swinging his sword (cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 146). In this connection also Kauś. 17,9.22 should be mentioned: the king makes on horseback a few steps in the "invincible" (i.e. north-eastern) direction. It should be noticed that the five steps are not performed on the tiger skin, which will be dealt with in the next chapter; the rite of the five steps seems not to be connected with the stepping on the tiger skin, as was erroneously assumed by P. Mus (Barabuḍur, 5,12; *BEFEO*, 33, 1933, p. 826).

[4] Cf. resp. MS. 4, p. 54.3; ŚB. 5, 4, 1,8.

[5] A similar configuration occurs in the pañcedhmīya.

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the fifth is the bearer of the continuity: according to MS. the fifth *draviṇam* is the fruit (*phalam*).

As seen elsewhere, the ideas of conception and birth are combined with the ideas of ascension to heaven indicated above and of appropriating the universe. As opposed to its counterpart the *diśām aveṣṭayaḥ*, the present rite seems to be mainly concerned with the royal sacrificer's conception. The *diśaḥ* are called a dīkṣā.[6] Entering upon each of them the royal sacrificer becomes their dīkṣita, i.e. their embryo, just like the Soma dīkṣita, who is enveloped in a garment, his caul, in which all elements of the universe are present (Agni, Vāyu, the Manes, the Ādityas, the Viśve Devāḥ, the constellations).[7] It even seems as though the sacrificer by stepping out towards the different directions disperses himself to the quarters and is in danger of total dissolution; the sacrificer should make the steps "in mind only", as otherwise he would fall into disorder, turn mad.[8] In this connection some attention may be given to the fact that MS. and KS. make the sacrificer begin his steps in the west, following a prasavya order of succession, that is an order of succession connected with death[9] or rather of conception, entering the maternal womb.

It is typical of the cyclical view of the cosmos governing Vedic (and also later Indian) thought that the ascension should be followed by a descent to the earth, the dispersion and conception by concentration and birth. This opposite swing of the pendulum is realized by the *diśām aveṣṭayaḥ* at the end of the daśapeya sacrifice. It it perhaps not without importance that the present ceremony is separated from the *diśām aveṣṭayaḥ* by a lapse of the ten days of the saṃsṛp offerings, which, as we shall see, represent the course of the year. Thus the king, as the embryo of the *diśaḥ*, undertakes as it were a year-long dīkṣā symbolizing the year-long cosmic process of maturing and rebirth. We can draw this conclusion with the more confidence as this idea is also in other ways and more explicitly expressed: the year-long dīkṣā before the unction, followed as we shall see by yet another year-long dīkṣā period preceding the hair-cutting festival.[10]

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[6] Cf. TB. 3,7,7,4ff. on account of the dīkṣā of Keśin Dārbhya (cf. also KB. 7,4; Āp. 10,10,6).

[7] Cf. TS. 6,1,1,3–4 "the garment is thus connected with all the gods".

[8] Cf. TB. 1,7,7,1 (*ut tu mādyet*).

[9] On the pradakṣiṇa and prasavya directions of movement cf. W. Caland, "Een indogermaansch lustratie-gebruik", *Verslagen Kon. Ak. v. Wetenschappen Amsterdam*, 4,2 (1898), p. 275–325.

[10] This conclusion might seem surprising in view of the imminent unction birth. We should, however, take into account that in the unction both aspects, birth and death (or new conception), are present; as will be shown the unction is at once birth and death.

XIII

THE TIGER SKIN; LEAD AND COPPER; SILVER AND GOLD

TS. 1,8,14; TB. 1,7,8,1–2; 1,8,9; MS. 2,6,10; 4,4,4; KS. 15,7; VS. 10,5.10.14. 15; ŚB. 5,3,5,3 and 4,1,1–2 and 9–14.
Baudh. 12,10:101.4–10; Āp. 18,15,5–7; Hir. 13,5,26–30; Kāty. 15,5,1–2 and 22 and 24–27.

a. The unction will be administered to the king while standing upon a tiger skin.[1] The tiger skin is spread now before (east of) the dhiṣṇiya of the maitrāvāruṇa priest (near the place where the unction vessels have been put down) with the neck turned to the east and the hairy side upwards.[2] The formula pronounced at the spreading is: "Thou art Soma's glittering (*tviṣi-*); as thine may my glittering be."[3] Beside the tiger skin, Āp. and Vārāha prescribe also a throne of khadira or udumbara wood on which the tiger skin is to be fastened with the above formula.[4] The other authorities do not use a throne at the unction. The actual enthronement takes place later, after the chariot drive.

b. When treading upon the tiger skin the sacrificer kicks away two pieces of metal. With the right foot he kicks a piece of lead towards a eunuch (*klība-*, TB., *paṇḍaga-*, MS.), who sits south of the tiger skin (TB., Baudh.); doing so he says: "removed (by offering) are the biters (*dandaśūka-*)". With the left foot he kicks a piece of copper towards a barber (*keśavāpa-*) saying: "cast away is Namuci's head". The eunuch and the barber throw the pieces outside the vedi (Āp.). With the Taittirīyakas the formulas seem to have been confused. The lead belongs, in my opinion, clearly to the myth of Namuci;[5] the piece of copper seems to me to be related to

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[1] At the mahābhiṣeka, described by Kauś., likewise a tiger skin is used (17,13). At the laghvabhiṣeka, however, a bull's hide is used (17,3).

[2] Baudh. has the tiger skin spread on the place of the sacrificer south of the āhavanīya fire. Acc. to Vait. 36,6 its place is before (east of) the Soma carts.

[3] This formula is used by Kāty. twice: once at the spreading (which in the WhYV. takes place a little earlier at the very beginning of the block of inserted rites), and the second time when the sacrificer treads upon the tiger skin.

[4] Cf. Vārāha 3,3,2,43.

[5] On the connection of lead with the Namuci myth, cf. M. Bloomfield, "The story of Indra and Namuci", *JAOS*, 15, p. 157.

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the copper razor used for haircutting and shaving in the cāturmāsyas;[6] the formula: "removed (by offering) are the biters" would perfectly fit this meaning. MS. (4,4,4:54.5ff.), Hir. and Vārāha accordingly connect the Namuci formula with the lead and the dandaśūka formula with the copper. The WhYV. does likewise: the sacrificer, pronouncing the Namuci formula, kicks with his foot (it is not said, whether the left or the right foot is meant) the piece of lead away (not towards a person); the piece of copper is thrown by him with the dandaśūka formula in the mouth of a long-haired person (*keśava-*), that is, acc. to ŚB. 5,4,1,2, a person who is neither man nor woman.[7] It is further to be observed that in the WhYV. the throwing away of the copper and of the lead are separated from each other by the "mounting of the quarters" described in the preceding chapter; the piece of copper which has *not* been laid down on the tiger skin like the piece of lead, is thrown away immediately before the mounting ceremony, and directly after that ceremony the sacrificer, stepping on the tiger skin, kicks away the lead. If I am right two rites have collided here: a rite originally connected with ritual hair-cutting or shaving (copper – barber – biters), and secondly a rite referring to the myth of Indra's victory over Namuci (lead – eunuch[8] – Namuci). Both schemes are completely rendered by MS., followed by Vārāha, Hir. and Āp. (the last confuses the formulas). TB. and Baudh. have both acts but mention only the eunuch (*klība-*), and further, as we saw, they confuse the formulas. The WhYV. also mentions but one personage, the *keśava-*.[9]

c. The adhvaryu places under the sacrificer who is standing on the tiger skin a silver plaque weighing a hundred mānas, with the formula: "Thou art ambrosia; from death protect me".[10] On the head of the sacrificer he places a golden plaque also weighing a hundred mānas (or kṛṣṇalas) with the formula: "From the thunderbolt protect me" (WhYV.: "Thou

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[6] Cf. TB. 1,5,6,5; Āp. 8,4,1. Also in the domestic ritual of the cūḍakarma a copper razor is used, cf. Hillebrandt, *Rituallitteratur*, p. 49.

[7] Cf. also ŚB. 5,1,2,14. Apparently a eunuch is meant.

[8] The connection eunuch-lead occurs also elsewhere; in the sautrāmaṇī the surā is bought from a eunuch for a piece of lead, cf. TB. 1,8,5,3 (*klība-*); ŚB. 5,1,2,14 (*keśava-*).

[9] Perhaps the confusion started with the *keśava-*, the long-haired person, *keśava-* being at once the designation for an eunuch (at least in the ŚB.) and for a long-haired person. The long-haired person is easily to be connected with ritual hair-cutting and shaving, as is to be observed in the keśavapanīya sacrifice.

[10] The rite with the gold and silver plaques is placed by the Taittirīyakas (cf. Baudh. 12,10:101.5–10; Āp. 18,16,5–6) immediately before the lead-and-copper rite. Hir. follows MS. and KS., where the reverse order is prescribed (cf. MS. 2,6,10: 70.5-6; KS. 15,7:214.13ff.). The WhYV. does likewise.

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art *ojas-*, thou art *sahas-*, thou art ambrosia"). This gold plaque is pierced with nine or with a hundred holes.

ANNOTATIONS

a. In the unction ceremony the tiger skin plays a part strictly analogous to the part of the black antelope skin in the dīkṣā.[11] On the other hand the black antelope skin is also used in the unction ceremonies; for instance in the agnicayana unction a black antelope skin is used if the sacrificer wishes to obtain priestly lustre, a tiger skin if he is a kṣatriya and a goat skin if he is a vaiśya.[12] In the dīkṣā the black antelope skin is considered one of the embryonic covers of the dīkṣita turned into an embryo.[13] The similarity of the unction and the dīkṣā has already been noticed, and it seems therefore reasonable to assume that the tiger skin too represents an embryonic cover. In this sense may be interpreted the statement of TB. and MS.[14] that the tiger skin is the "cover of death" (*mṛtyor varṇa-*), for the dīkṣita is considered to be an embryo in a death-like condition awaiting its rebirth through the sacrifice.

The king seems to have a special relation with the tiger. In the rājābhiṣeka he is clearly identified with the tiger; when the moment for the unction has arrived he seats himself on a tiger skin while the adhvaryu recites: "a tiger seat thyself on the tiger skin ...";[15] another instance from the rājābhiṣeka is to be found in one of the formulas accompanying a series of libations preceding the unction: "this tiger wanders in the fire having entered it, the son of the seers...".[16] Now the womb from which the dīkṣita is ritually to be born is also represented by the sacrificial fires in the fire-hut, where he is to pass the night; if he should pass the night outside this hut, the fire would come after him in the form of a tiger, and kill him.[17] On connecting this idea of the dīkṣita's fire womb represented

[11] Cf. CH. no. 17a.

[12] Cf. Āp. 17,20,6.

[13] Cf. AB. 1,3,17–18; MS. 3,6,7:68.11.

[14] TB. 1,7,8,1; MS. 4, p. 54.10.

[15] TB. 2,7,15,3; cf. AV. 4,8,4; for the ritual, cf. Āp. 22,28,12; Baudh. 18,16:362.1.

[16] Cf. TB. 2,7,15,1. For the ritual, cf. Āp. 22,28,10; Baudh. 18,16:361.10. That here the king under the form of the ghee poured into the fire is meant becomes sufficiently clear when we take into account that the following libation formulas are stanzas from AV. 4,8, a hymn referring to the king being consecrated, and prescribed by Vait. 36,7 to be recited at the rājasūya unction; this hymn also refers to the king as a tiger (v.4) and again both as a tiger, a lion and a leopard (v.7). The tiger is considered the king of wild beasts (ŚB. 12,7,1,8; AB. 8,6,1).

[17] Cf. ŚB. 3,1,3,28; TS. 6,2,5,5. The fire is called in this connection "guardian of the family" (*kulagopa-*).

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as a tiger with the king's seating himself on a tiger skin in view of his unction birth, the conclusion already indicated above is reached that the king is to be born as a tiger from a tiger womb (viz. the tiger skin).

At the same time the seating on the tiger skin is considered to have a reinvigorating, reintegrating effect. ŚB. alludes here to the myth of Indra, who, having appropriated the Soma beverage by force, disintegrated while the Soma streamed out of him. The Soma streaming out of him became a tiger and by stepping on the tiger skin the king, apparently as often personifying Indra, places the glittering (*tviṣi-*) of Soma in himself again.[18] This myth is clearly related to the surā cult, like the Namuci myth which will presently be dealt with in connection with the piece of lead; and so it may be inferred that the tiger skin belongs to the same sphere. The surā sacrifice (sautrāmaṇī) is also prescribed for the reintegration of Indra, who disintegrated upon receiving the unction in the rājasūya.[19] The reintegration theme fits in well with the idea of the king being an embryo in the tiger womb: during his stay in the womb he gathers his forces, ripens for his birth, then, after his birth (the unction), he will disintegrate and be gathered up again during another stay in the womb and so forth in an ever recurrent cyclical process. This process is in fact that of the forces of fertility: Indra the king, forcibly appropriates and drinks the Soma, the fluid representative of the fertility forces, whereupon the cosmogonic disintegration – comparable to Prajāpati's disintegration – sets in and the Soma streams out (to perform its fertilizing function in the universe). Then the Soma is concentrated in Indra, the king, who being pieced together is fit to undergo the same cycle again.

b. The symbolism of the tiger skin refers, as already observed, to the sphere of the surā cult.[20] This is also the case with the lead, identified with Namuci's head in the relevant formula. The eunuch, the lead and Namuci's head are important elements of the surā cult and the mythology connected therewith. In the sautrāmaṇī sacrifice the materials for the preparation of the surā beverage are bought from a eunuch against lead, while in the RV. we are told that the surā was extracted from Namuci by the Aśvins to cure Indra, disintegrated by his indulgence in Soma.[21] In another version of the Namuci myth Indra slays or twists off the head of Namuci who had insinuated himself into Indra's intimacy and forced Indra to enter into a covenant with him, with a weapon made of foam (*apāṃ phena-*); now foam is considered identical with lead;[22] in the present rite the piece of lead, by a curious but in Vedic thought not altogether astonishing interchange, represents Namuci's head itself. Much is obscure in the Namuci mythology, but here it may suffice to retain the fact that Namuci, the lead and the eunuch belong together and are probably the traces of a different version of the rājasūya in which the surā cult played an important part as it still does in another royal ceremony, the vājapeya. This becomes the more probable when taking into account that the sautrāmaṇī sacrifice is to be performed after the rājasūya, doubling it in a way, or even, according to Śāṅkh. (15,15,1ff.), directly after the unction and daśapeya festivals.

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[18] ŚB. 5,3,5,3, also 5,4,1,11.

[19] Cf. TB. 1,8,5,1.

[20] Also in one of the preceding rites, the eating of the young barley or rice shoots (*śaṣpa-*, *tokma-*), reference is made to the surā cult (cf. Preparation of the Sacrificer).

[21] Cf. Oldenberg, *R. d. V.*, p. 157; Keith, *R. Ph. V.*, p. 131; for the surā cult and the sautrāmaṇī cf. Hillebrandt, *V. M.*, 1,481ff.; the same, *Rituallitteratur*, p.159ff. For the Namuci mythology, cf. Hillebrandt, *V. M.*, 2, p. 229ff.; Bergaigne, *Religion Védique*, 2, 346ff.

Though the Namuci myth and the surā cult connected with it can not be fully discussed here, so much seems sure that Namuci in the surā cycle, as the restrainer who must be slain to release the invigorating fluids, plays the same part as Vṛtra in the Soma cycle.[23] Indra's freeing himself from Namuci may therefore well be compared with his victory over Vṛtra as signifying his birth. In this connection it is interesting that, as already observed, Indra's victory over Namuci also provides, according to MS. and TB., the background of the apāmārgahoma;[24] I interpreted the apāmārgahoma as the disposal of the remainders of the birth process (the embryonic covers). A similar interpretation may be given to the piece of lead kicked away by the king. When Indra disintegrated by the effect of his Soma indulgence the "drying-up fluid" (*śuṣa-*) which streamed from his navel became lead, as we are told by ŚB. 12,7,1,7.[25] Thus the lead can well represent the embryonic covers, especially the umbilical cord,[26] which stick to the embryo at the moment of its birth in much the same way as Namuci's head (the piece of lead), when twisted off by Indra, rolls after Indra menacing him. In other words: by kicking the lead away the sacrificer frees himself from the embryonic covers in their dangerous aspect. Though I have not been able to ascertain in a conclusive way what is the relation between Namuci and the eunuch or long-haired person, it seems to me that the eunuch represents Namuci. The eunuch or long-haired person, being according to the ŚB.[27] neither man nor woman, reminds us of an androgynous primeval being, like Prajāpati, while Namuci seems to represent the dangerous aspect of such a being.[28] If this assumption should prove true, it would appear that Indra, the king, after having freed himself from Namuci (or after having been born from him) places the afterbirth back into the place of origin.

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[22] Cf. Hillebrandt, *V. M.*, 2, p. 231f.; Kauś. 8,18 gives a list of substances called "lead" in which foam is included.

[23] Cf. Hillebrandt, *V. M.*, 2, p. 230.

[24] Cf. MS. 4,3,4:43.7; TB. 1,7,1,6. MS.'s account of the Namuci myth may be compared to Mhbh. 9,43,34ff. where Indra clearly is the sun god.

[25] The lead's originating from Indra's "drying up" umbilical fluid seems to provide another link between lead and the foam weapon, which latter is described as "neither fluid, nor dry".

[26] It may be noticed that the navel is often considered as a generative organ; cf. J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 84ff. Lead is also used in a rite against miscarriage; the woman is caused to step on leaden objects and then sprinkled (Kauś. 34, 3 ff.).

The piece of copper has, if I am right, a totally different background: ritual hair-cutting or shaving, which is an essential part in consecratory rites like, for instance, the dīkṣā,[29] and which might also be expected to form part of the unction ritual, as it actually does in the rājābhiṣeka or mṛtyusava. As the unction ritual of the rājasūya has been embedded in the Soma paradigma, the shaving is already performed at the Soma dīkṣā and thus would be superfluous here in the unction ritual proper. When dealing with the hair-cutting festival, I shall discuss the significance of the hair-shaving. As we shall then see the ritual shaving is considered equal to the periodical "shaving" of the earth when the vegetation withers away through the heat of the sun; the sacrificer being shaven personifies the earth which shorn of its old vegetation will produce new crops. The identification of the copper razor with the sun lies therefore near at hand; this identification seems to be implied when ŚB. 2,6,4,5 declares: "the copper razor (*loha- kṣura-*) is the form of the brahman power, for the brahman power is Agni and Agni is red (*lohita iva*)... with it he shaves round about (*parivartayate*); thus with the brahman power he surrounds him". The sacrificer enveloped by the brahman becomes a cosmic being; as the universe is surrounded by the rotation of the sun, thus he is surrounded by the circulatory movement of the razor (*parivartayate*).[30] The throwing away of the piece of copper in the direction of a barber or, as the WhYV. has it, in the mouth of a long-haired person (*keśava-*), seems therefore to convey the idea that the dangerous aspect of the cosmic, solar envelope of the sacrificer is done away with, or that the sun razor, having fulfilled its function, is done away with to be reproduced in due time. The long-haired person is considered by ŚB. as "neither man nor woman"[31] and the removal of the piece of copper in his direction may, as in the case of the lead, perhaps be taken as placing the solar envelope back into the primeval androgynous being. The two rites concerning respectively the piece of lead and the piece of copper, though originating from totally different spheres, converge as to their meaning. The convergence is probably stimulated by the fact that the two personages, the eunuch and the long-haired person who both are called *keśava-* by the ŚB., have much in common and in fact seem to express the same mythological reality. Thus the two rites, separated from their original background (the surā cult and the ritual shaving), easily fell in line with each other. The two pieces of metal became merely undifferentiated representatives of the embryonic cover in its dangerous aspect: "as many as there are deaths, so many are given their due (are put off)", "he throws away the *pāpman-*". "he casts off the *nāṣṭrā rakṣāṃsi*".[32]

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[27] ŚB. 5,1,2,14; 5,4,1,2.

[28] It seems significant that in Buddhist mythology Namuci occurs as a name of Māra, the demon of fertility and carnal love in their death-like aspect; cf. E. Windisch, "Māra und Buddha," *Abh. Kön. Sächs. Ak. Wiss., phil.- hist. Classe*, 36 (1895), p. 185.

[29] Cf. CH. no. 14a; in general H. Oldenberg, *R. d. V.*, p. 425ff.

[30] For the correspondence sun-razor, cf. AV. 6,68,1.3 where Savitṛ is said to have shaved king Soma. Also one of the formulas with which the virāj bricks are laid in the course of the agnicayana: "the razor-with-strop (*kṣuro bhṛjvān*) is the metre" (TS. 4,3,12f.) or: "the parching (?) razor (*kṣuro bhraja-*) is the metre" (VS. 15,4); this razor is declared to be the sun (ŚB. 8,5,2,4).

c. Against the dangerous covers (lead and copper) the two plaques (silver and gold) can be set as the representatives of the covers in their beneficent aspect. These two plaques give the sacrificer protection on both sides, as TB. 1,7,8,2 declares. They protect him against the disintegrating effect of the unction: "when Varuṇa was anointed, the waters struck off his vital force (*indriya- vīrya-*); the interposing of a gold plaque (serves) for not-striking-off the vital force", as MS. 4, p. 54. 15 has it. By their weight (a hundred mānas) and the hundred holes they represent the hundred physical and psychical forces (*āyus-*, *indriya-*) of man, and thus confirm the sacrificer in the possession of these forces.[33] The holes in the plaque placed on the head of the sacrificer are intended to let the unction fluid flow through;[34] flowing through the holes in the gold plaque the unction fluid becomes *āyuṣya-* and *varcasya-*, thus imparting force and lustre (*āyus-* and *varcas-*) to the sacrificer.[35] In case there are nine holes in the gold plaque, the reference is to the nine vital functions or breaths (*prāṇa-*) which are thus imparted to the sacrificer.[36] As to the plaques' representing the covers of the sacrificer a most interesting view is expressed by MS. (4, p. 54.13) where the silver plaque is identified with the earth and the gold one with the sky; the sacrificer is surrounded by heaven and earth. We are reminded here of the cosmic egg; half of its shell was silver, the other half gold. When the egg was broken open the sun was born, while the silver egg shell became the earth and the gold one the sky.[37] Viewed in this light the king is the cosmic embryo – the sun or the brahman, the sun in this connection being identified with the brahman by ChU. 3,19,1.4 – enveloped by the earth and the sky.

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[31] On the long-haired person see also Keśavapanīya, Annotations.

[32] Cf. resp. MS. 4, p. 54.9 (also ŚB. 5,4,1,1); MS. 4, p. 54.6 (also TB. 1, 7,8,2); ŚB. 5,4,1,10. For the relation of *pāpman-* and *nāṣṭrā rakṣāṃsi* with the embryonic covers see the discussion on the Anumati-Nirṛti offering and on the apāmārgahoma. As to the two metals, copper and lead, as representing the sacrificer's embryonic cover, we may compare ŚB. 13,2,2,16ff. where it is prescribed that the sacrificial horse should be dissected with a gold knife, the animals which are attached to the limbs of the horse (*paryaṅgya-*) with copper knives and the other animals with iron knives. The paryaṅgyas being equated to the king's electors (*rājño 'rājāno rājakṛtaḥ*) and the other animals to the people (*viś-*), the image referred to is that of the king (gold) surrounded by the circle of the electors, comparable to the ratnins (copper), and by a second circle formed by the people (iron). (Cf. Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, nos. 486–488).

[33] MS., TB., ib.

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[34] Cf. Vārāha 3,3,2,49: *rukmaṃ pratyañcaṃ siñcati.*

[35] Cf. MS., TB., 11.cc.

[36] Cf. ŚB. 5,4,1,13.

[37] Cf. ChU. 3,19; JB. 3,360–61 (cf. W. Caland, "Over en uit het JB.," *Versl. en Med. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. Amsterdam, afd. Letterkunde*, 5, 1,1 (1914), p. 45); in the JB. the earth is gold and the sky silver. Cf. also RV. 10, 129; AV. 4, 2,7–8.

XIV

UNCTION (*ABHIṢEKAḤ*)

TS. 1,8,14; TB. 1,7,8; MS. 2,6,11; 4,4,5; KS. 15,7; VS. 10,17–19; ŚB. 5,4,2,1–6. Baudh. 12, p. 101.10–102.3; Āp. 18,15,10–16,8; Hir. 13,5,31–34; Kāty. 15,5,30–6,9.

While the sacrificer stands[1] on the tiger skin with raised arms and his face turned to the east, the unction is administered to him by four persons standing round him at the four cardinal points, each holding a special unction cup filled previously (Preparation of the unction fluid). In the following table I have listed the cardinal points, the officiants and the kinds of wood of their unction cups:

East	*South*	*West*	*North*
Taittirīyakas (Baudh., Āp., Hir.):			
adhvaryu[2]	rājanya or: brahman priest[3]	vaiśya	*janya-* or: *janya- mitra-*[4]
pālāśa	udumbara	aśvattha	nyagrodha
Maitrāyaṇīyas (Mānava, Vārāha):[5]			
janya- mitra-[4]	brahman priest	vaiśya	*bhrātṛvya-* (rival)
nyagrodha	pālāśa	aśvattha	udumbara

According to the WhYV. the brahmanic officiant (either the adhvaryu or the royal chaplain) is standing in front (east) of the sacrificer with the pālāśa cup; behind (to the west) the others are standing: a relative (*sva-*)

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[1] According to Baudh., however, the sacrificer seems to sit on the tiger skin (cf. 12, p. 101.5: *tad yajamānaṃ prāñcam upaveśya*).

[2] According to Baudh. the pālāśa cup was held by the brahman priest when the unction cups were being filled. At the moment of the unction it is taken over by the adhvaryu who officiates at the unction instead of the brahman priest.

[3] The alternative given by Āp. who borrowed it from the Maitrāyaṇīyas.

[4] *janya-* (or *janya- mitra-*, as borrowed by Āp. from the Maitr.) clearly denotes a kind of relative. Its exact meaning seems to have been no longer clear to the sūtra authors. The WhYV. has it deformed to *mitrya- rājanya-* (an allied rājanya). Caland translates *janya- mitra-* as: "ein Freund aus der Ferne". Further see Annotations.

[5] The Maitr. begin with the brahman priest in the south; consequently the others move up one place except the vaiśya who also here has his station in the west.

with the udumbara cup, a vaiśya with the aśvattha cup and a rājanya who is friendly disposed towards the sacrificer with the nyagrodha cup. Before the unction the adhvaryu recites over the sacrificer:

"Soma, king Varuṇa, and the gods who instigate (engender) holy order (*dharma-*), may they instigate thy speech, may they instigate thy breath, may they instigate thy sight, may they instigate thine ear."[6]

According to Baudh. the sacrificer looks at the unction fluid held up towards him by the four officiants (avekṣaṇa).[7]

The unction formula proper, as given by the TS., is: "With Soma's glory (*dyumna-*) I anoint thee, with Agni's brilliance (*tejas-*), with the sun's lustre (*varcas-*), with Indra's power (*indriya-*), with the strength (*vīrya-*) of Mitra and Varuṇa, with the force (*ojas-*) of the Maruts."[8]

First the adhvaryu anoints, reciting the unction formula, then the other officiants, each in his turn probably following a clockwise order of succession. According to Āp. each officiant repeats the unction formula to which the adhvaryu adds at each unction: "Thou art the lord of kingly powers".[9] Baudh., however, has only the adhvaryu pronounce the unction formula, supplemented with "thou art lord of kingly powers" and "protect from the sky" (*ati divas pāhi*).[10]

The WhYV. mainly agrees with the Taittirīyakas, but breaks the unction formula proper into four parts: (1) "I anoint thee with Soma's glory", (2) "I anoint thee with Agni's brilliance (*bhrājas-*)", (3) "I anoint thee with the sun's lustre (*varcas-*)", (4) "I anoint thee with Indra's power (*indriya-*)". Each time are added the formulas: "be thou lord of kingly powers", and "protect against the thunderbolt" (*ati didyūn pāhi*).[11] Moreover the first unction officiant (the adhvaryu or the purohita) recites the proclamation formula (in its WhYV.-version) used already before at the devasū offerings: "Ye gods do ye instigate this N.N. . . . ; this is your king, O ye N.N. (name of the people), Soma is the king of us brahmins".

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[6] The formula is TS. 1,8,14f. The corresponding formula in MS. (2,6,8:69.1) and KS. (15,6:213.16) is: "Soma, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni, these dharma supporting gods must support the dharma"; KS. enlarges this formula with: "they must instigate (engender) for this one (his) speech". MS. and KS., however, have the formula recited over the sacrificer after the offering of the remainder of the unction fluid left over in the collective vessel after the four unction cups have been filled (cf. chapter: Preparation of the Unction fluid, 5). The WhYV. has no corresponding formula.

[7] For the avekṣaṇa of the unction fluid, cf. AB, 8,6,9-11.

[8] MS. and KS. have the same formula but MS. mentions only four gods with their powers (Soma's *dyumna-*, Agni's *tejas-*, Indra's *indriya-* and the *kratu-* of the Viśve Devāḥ). KS. mentions also the sun's *varcas-*, like TS.

[9] TS. 1,8,14h; this formula is in use only with the Taittirīyakas.

[10] The WhYV. applies the equivalent of this last formula to the unction; Āp. and Hir., however (following MS.), use it when the sacrificer takes off his unction apparel (cf. chapter: Preparation of the Sacrificer). It is not clear whether Baudh. intends the unction formulas to be pronounced only once or to be repeated at each turn.

[11] The last formula according to ŚB. 5,4,2,2 serves the purpose of protecting the sacrificer from being hit by arrows (*iṣubadha-*).

After they have administered the unction the four anointing officiants wipe the unction fluid dripping from the sacrificer's body in upward direction by means of their unction cups (BlYV.), or the sacrificer does so himself using the antelope horn[12] (WhYV.). This act is accompanied by the stanza: "(the waters) have turned back from below (going) upward following the Serpent of the Deep (Ahi Budhnya) (in his course); they move on the back of the mountain, of the bull, (like) ships, pouring out spontaneously on their way (*svasica iyānāḥ*)".[13]

The unction fluid, which in the way prescribed by the BlYV. drips into the unction cups, is poured together in the adhvaryu's pālāśa cup and afterwards used in the ceremony of the interchanging of names to be described in the next chapter. The WhYV. does not prescribe the collecting of the fluid dripping down from the sacrificer, but has it rubbed in by means of the antelope horn.

According to Baudh. the unction and the wiping upward are immediately followed by an acclamation, probably to be performed by the anointing officiants: "Anointed is N.N., descendant of N.N., son of N.N., grandson of N.N., great-grandson of N.N., by the rājasūya". Then the sacrificer, again according to Baudh., wipes his face while the adhvaryu pronounces two formulas mentioning Varuṇa.[14]

In the WhYV. the unction ceremony is closed by the sacrificer's performing the three Viṣṇu steps (also Baudh.). According to Kāty. the Śunaḥśepa legend can already now be recited (between the unction proper and the wiping).

ANNOTATIONS

Mr. Hocart has adequately characterized the meaning of the unction when he called it "a baptism after birth".[15] Of course the term baptism should not be taken here in too strict a sense. To do justice to the Indian context the royal unction can perhaps best be compared with the bathing of the newly-born child, as prescribed in the domestic ritual, and by which the child is freed from "Varuṇa's fetter" and is equated to the sun released by the gods from darkness;[16] or, in terms of the Buddha legend, with the ablution of the newly born Bodhisattva.[17] The king's birth has been elaborately prepared and even prefigured in two ways: by the conception and forming of the king's new body in the waters (chapter: Preparation of the unction fluid) and by his donning the womb garments and his further equipment (chapter: Preparation of the sacrificer). "When the adhvaryu causes the sacrificer to put on the womb garments he engenders him, considering: 'When he is born I will anoint him'," as ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 24 has it. Strictly speaking it would therefore seem as if the central moment, the birth itself, is not represented in the ritual. We should not, however, make too sharp a distinction between the moment of birth and the ensuing "baptism" or unction. The unction, as well as the dīkṣā bath (*apsu dīkṣā*), the avabhṛtha, the bathing of the newly-born child or of the Bodhisattva, can be considered the ritual figuration of the regenerating contact with the primordial waters, the source of existence;[18] the unction, like Christian baptism, is the new birth itself.[19] Thus the "kingmakers" (*rājakartṛ-*) at the so-called mahābhiṣeka of Indra described in the AB. acclaim the king with the words: "the royal power has been born, the kṣatriya has been born, the overlord of all being has been born, the eater of the people has been born, the slayer of the enemies has been born, the protector of the brahmins has been born, the protector of the cosmic order has been born".[20] That the unction rite under discussion represents the new birth is already suggested by the word *rājasūya-* ("bringing forth the king") when applied to the unction waters.[21] It has already been seen that the rites concerning the preparation of the unction fluid amounted to the forming of the sacrificer's cosmic body. The unction can therefore perhaps best be described as bestowing the new body on the royal sacrificer. This idea finds also a clear expression in the unction ceremony as performed on the occasion of the sautrāmaṇī sacrifice: having been anointed the sacrificer descends from the throne, uttering a couple of formulas according to which he firmly establishes himself in his (new) limbs, body and vital functions.[22]

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[12] The antelope horn belongs to his dīkṣā equipment (not to his unction apparel as it seems), cf. CH. no. 17f.

[13] TS. 1,8,14k; MS. and KS. read, beside other less important variants, instead of *svasica iyānāḥ*, *svasico na vāṇīh* (like spontaneously pouring voices), what seems more intelligible (cf. Annotations). VS. reverses the order of the two halves of the formula in accordance with the movement of the water that first streams down from the sacrificer's back (VS., like MS., reads *pṛṣṭhāt*) and is then wiped upward.

[14] This latter act occurs with Baudh. at all unctions, cf. the chapter: Offerings to the Devasū gods.

[15] A. M. Hocart, *Kingship*, p. 79.

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[16] Cf. e.g. HirGS. 2,3,10. The relevant formulas have been quoted above (chapter: Iṣṭis for Anumati – Nirṛti, Annotations).

[17] On the congruence of the Bodhisattva's ablution and the royal unction as well as of the Buddhist birth legend and the royal consecration in general, cf. P. Mus, *Barabuḍur*, 5, ch. 12 (*BEFEO* 33, p. 822ff.)

[18] On the cosmogonic and regenerating function of the waters, cf. Eliade, *Traité*, ch. 5, especially p. 170. In passing it should be noticed that the unction or besprinkling (*abhiṣeka-*) is to be distinguished from the application of ointment to eyes and body (*añjana-*) as described in the chapter on the preparation of the sacrificer. At any rate both procedures, though probably originating from different backgrounds, converge as to their meaning: both purport to regenerate and give a new body.

[19] Cf. v. d. Leeuw, *La Religion*, p. 338f.; Eliade, *Traité*, p. 174f.; R. B. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, p. 189f.

[20] AB. 8,17,5 (cf. 8,12,5). This acclamation is performed between the enthronement and the unction proper. We may compare the acclamation which Baudh. prescribes to be performed after the rājasūya unction.

The four anointing officiants who, standing around the king, confer upon him his new body, can readily be put on a par with the womb or embryonic envelopes from which he is born at the moment of his unction. This shows to advantage when the identity of the four anointers is taken into consideration. As in the case of the ratnīnāṃ havīṃṣi several groups can be distinguished; in the present case these groups are: the social classes, the priests and the sacrificer's relatives. The social classes dominate in Baudh.'s version: the adhvaryu and the brahman priest representing the brahmins, the rājanya and the vaiśya representing the two other classes who have access to the Veda and the ritual; Baudh.'s commentator Bhavasvāmin completes the picture by explaining *janyamitra-* as a śūdra. Of the priests only the adhvaryu and the brahman are mentioned as anointing officiants (Āp., Hir.); elsewhere, however (in the vājapeya), all four sacrificial priests surround the sacrificial pole when the sacrificer mounts it.[23] The relatives are not only represented by the *sva-* in the WhYV. version, but also, as I presume, by the *bhrātṛvya-* (son of the father's brother and thereby a potential rival) and the *janya- mitra-*.[24]

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[21] Cf. chapter: Preparation of the unction fluid.

[22] Cf. Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, no. 677; Āp. 19,10,2.

[23] Cf. Āp. 18,5,16.

[24] As to the meaning of *jana-* and *janya-*, they are mostly translated by Caland as foreign (people). There are, however, strong reasons to believe that they refer to some kind of kinship. ṢaḍvB. 1,7,3: the *jana-* are the Fathers and *janya-* means "related to the Fathers". In case sacrificial ghee is spilled the following formula is to be recited: "To the gods, to the *jana-* the sacrifice has gone, from there the blessing (*āśis-*) of the sacrifice must return to me; to the Fathers, to the *jana-* . . . ; to the human beings, to the *jana-* . . . ; to waters, plants, trees, to the *jana-* . . . ; to the five tribes, to the *jana-* . . ." (cf. Āp. 9,13,5; MS. 1,4,9:57.3; KS. 32,6:24.3). What is being spilled, or left, the overflowing, is as has been seen (I refer to the discussion on the Anumati-Nirṛti offerings) the seed of new generation; thus ŚB. 12,4,1,7 prescribes to touch the spilled milk of the agnihotra with the words: "(he) has spilled, (he) has been conceived, (he) has been procreated" (*askann, adhita, prājani*) and explains: ". . . the earth is the womb, the milk is the seed". Now, when it is said that the spilled ghee goes to the *jana-* from where in return the blessing is to come back, the reference clearly is to a cyclical process of reproduction in which the entities referred to as *jana-* – mark also the ety-

With each of these three groups the king, as has been seen when dealing with the offerings in the houses of the ratnins, has established a marriage-like bond and they can consequently be considered the womb from which he is born. In this connection it is interesting to notice that Varāhamihira in his description of the royal unction hints at the erotic sentiment: the unction, as described by him, is performed on the bank of a river;[25] the banks of the river are in this context compared to "the attractive thighs of sportive damsels".[26]

From these last considerations it can be seen that the unction not only marks the king's birth but at the same time is connected with pairing, that is: re-entering the womb, death and disintegration. The contact with the primordial waters means birth as well as death: "Tout contact avec l'eau, quand il est pratiqué avec une intention religieuse, résume les deux moments fondamentaux du rythme cosmique: la réintégration dans les Eaux – et la création."[27] This is clearly realized by the brāhmaṇa authors: "When Varuṇa had been anointed his strength (*indriya- vīrya-*) fell asunder in ten parts; by means of the (ten) saṃsṛp offerings he went after it".[28] The same is said about Indra, whose strength also disintegrated into ten parts when he was anointed; for his reintegration the sautrāmaṇī must be performed,[29] which sacrifice as a whole amounts to a rebirth and a recomposing of the sacrificer's body from the elements of this sacrifice.[30] As I shall try to show, the ten saṃsṛp iṣṭis represent the course of the year, while the sautrāmaṇī as a rule takes place at the end of the whole rājasūya; also during the year following the unction the king should comply with a set of observances which will be seen to resemble the dīkṣā, and from which he is relieved by the hair-cutting festival. Thus

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mological connection of *jana-* with the verb *jan-* – function as the reproducing womb. Viewed in this light it seems acceptable that the *janya- mitra-* represents the family, clan or tribe to which the sacrificer is allied by marriage, so that in a way it can be considered as the womb through which he procreates himself in his offspring. Such a relation is liable to provoke tensions which easily turn into rivalry and enmity; in this way *janya-* can be put on a par with *sapatna-* and *dviṣant- bhrātṛvya-*, which are, moreover, also terms denoting kinship (AB. 8,26,3).

[25] Cf. Kauś. 17,1 where also the bank of a river is prescribed as the proper place for the unction.

[26] Bṛhatsaṃhitā 48,8.10. As to the connection of the unction with the idea of pairing cf. also Kauś. 17,26 where it is prescribed that the king after the unction ceremony should go into the rooms of his consorts.

[27] Eliade, *Traité*, p. 187; cf. also p. 175; v.d. Leeuw, *La Religion*, p. 339.

[28] TB. 1,8,1,1; cf. ŚB. 5,4,5,1; cf. also 5,4,1,17; 5,4,3,2. Cf. also the unction hymn AV. 4,8: "Death attends his royal consecration" (v. 1c).

[29] TB. 1,8,5,1.

[30] Cf. ŚB. 12,9,1,1ff.

it may be concluded that the king imitates the course of the universal rhythm of the fertility processes: at the joint of two time cycles he is born and at the same time re-enters the womb, dissolves or becomes a dīkṣita again, to be pieced together and ripen again during the course of the following year, at the end of which he undergoes at once both a new birth and a repeated death; and so forth in an unending sequence.

The cosmic implications of the unction ceremony are clearly brought out by its setting; the scene of the unction is a replica of the universe: the king standing in the centre and stretching his arms to the sky impersonates, as has been seen, the cosmic pillar; round him the officiants are standing and confer on him his new body from the four points of the compass; moreover each officiant – at least in the version of MS. and the WhYV., where each officiant has his own formula – imparts to the king the quality of one of the gods mentioned in the unction formula: Soma's glory, Agni's brilliance, etc. Attention should also be drawn to the sunwise movement beginning in the east (or south) constituted by the order of succession in which the unction is administered by the officiants; in this way, it seems, the rotation of the cosmic forces round the axis mundi is enacted at the moment of the unction.[31] The regenerating effect of this rotatory motion which has already been met with (apāmārga-homa, Mounting of the Quarters of Space), will be studied in connection with the ceremonial chariot drive; it will also be seen to play an important part in the enthronement and dicing rites.

The idea of the cosmic rotation stands out most clearly in the unction fluid's being wiped upward. The unction fluid dripping down from the king's body – "from the back of the mountain, the bull" – is caused to move upward again – "they have turned back from below (going) upward". In the administration of the unction the cosmic rotation was represented in a horizontal scheme uniting the four points of the compass; here the rotatory movement of the cosmic forces of fertility (the unction waters) are represented in their vertical rotation from sky to earth and back again to the sky, recalling the well-known cycle in which the two fundamental elements fire and water alternate with each other in upward and downward movement (fire-smoke-clouds-water-rain-plants-fire). Indeed, as has been argued in the discussion on the preparation of the unction fluid, fire and water are both present in the unction fluid; they are set in motion on their rotatory course moving through the points of the compass to the centre and from the sky to the earth and back again, streaming along "the back of the mountain, the bull".[32] The king thus becomes the pivot and source of the forces of fertility. This idea can also be observed in the unction according to the rājābhiṣeka rite: when he has received the unction the king is caused to raise his arms, with the formula: "Rise up, ye two arms, that we may live, besprinkle our pastures with ghee ...".[33]

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[31] To this effect the unction as performed during the Siamese coronation is to be compared: the king is seated on an octogonal throne, each side of which faces one of the eight points or intermediate points of the compass; in the middle of the throne stands a pole bearing the royal umbrella. The king, facing the eastern direction, receives the unction fluid from one of the officiants, then shifts his place so that he faces the south-east, and receives the unction fluid from the officiant of the south-eastern direction and so forth till he has described a full circle (cf. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, p. 78ff.).

The same order of ideas seems to underlie the reference made in the wiping formula to Ahi Budhnya, the "Serpent of the Deep", whom the (unction) waters are said to follow.[34] Ahi Budhnya unites in his nature both fire and water: he is said to have been born in the waters and to be sitting on the bottom (*budhna-*) of the streams.[35] He resembles Apāṃ Napāt, the fire god conceived of as the son of the waters, and indeed is often associated with him. Ahi Budhnya is also the old, extinguished gārhapatya fire,[36] in which case he is clearly the chthonic "serpent of the deep". Rising to the sky as he clearly does according to the formula under discussion,[37] he seems to symbolize the renewed fire whose flames surge upward again.[38] The idea evoked by the formula is that of the king's personifying Ahi Budhnya surging upward to the sky and thus forming the path along which the fertilizing fluids take their course.

The version of the wiping formula of MS. and KS. reads *svasico na vāṇīḥ*; the unction waters streaming along the sacrificer are thus compared to "the voices (or streams?) pouring out by themselves". The seven *vāṇīḥ* are RV. 3, 1, 6 said to have conceived Agni in their womb.[39] In RV. 10, 123, 3 the *vāṇīḥ* seem to be related to Soma in much the same way as cows licking a calf.[40] Set against this background the reference to the *vāṇīḥ* perfectly fits in the imagery of the unction ceremony as analyzed above. In his new body conferred on him by means of the unction the king unites both the igneous (Agni) and the aquatic principle (Soma), as can be seen from the preparation of the unction fluid; the unction waters streaming downward and upward along his back are compared to the *vāṇīḥ*, which like mothers also surround Agni and Soma; and this comparison brings us back once more to the idea of conception and birth.

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[32] For the intimate connection of the two fundamental elements, fire and water, with the mountain, cf. J. Filliozat, *La doctrine classique de la médicine indienne*, p. 51.

[33] TB. 2,7,15,6; cf. Āp. 22,28,14; Baudh. 18,17:362.18. For the vertical cosmic rotation, cf. also A. Coomaraswamy, *Spiritual Authority*... (New Haven, 1922), p. 68 and n. 50.

[34] On Ahi Budhnya cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 72f.; Hillebrandt, *V.M.*, p. 305f.; Keith, *R.Ph.V.*, p. 136f.; J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 29f.

[35] RV. 7,34,16.

[36] Cf. Hillebrandt, *V.M.*, p. 306 and the relevant passages quoted there.

[37] As to his rising to the sky, though nowhere else explicitly mentioned, it may be noticed that he is by the ancient interpreters considered to reside in the atmosphere, cf. Keith, *l.c.*; Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 73. It is not necessary and even confusing to consider Ahi Budhnya as a "personification of the writhing cloud" (Keith). The underlying idea seems rather to be again the cycle fire-smoke-cloud-rain-plants-fire.

[38] It may be noticed that there are indications that the rājasūya originally was associated with a yearly rite for the renewal of the fire; I refer to the discussion on the role of the *pūrvāgni-* in the chapter on the chariot drive and the enthronement rites.

To sum up the above considerations it can be stated that the king in the unction ceremony is the living representation of the cosmic pillar: the pivot of the cosmic rotation as well as the way between heaven and earth along which the fertilizing fluids perform their circuit. He is, however, not statically so: through his unction he resumes both poles of the cosmic rhythm; he is born and at the same time disintegrates, dies, enters the womb again, to be reborn at the end of yet another time cycle. Like the cosmic man Prajāpati he enacts the cosmic process of birth – disintegration – rebirth.

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[39] Cf. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 154; also RV. 3,7,1. Sāyaṇa in both cases explains the *vāṇīḥ* as the streams, which meaning would perfectly meet the present case also.

[40] Cf. also RV. 9,82,4.

XV

INTERCHANGING NAMES RITE (*VYATIṢAÑJANĪYAU HOMAU*); DISPOSAL OF THE REMAINDER OF THE UNCTION FLUID

TS. 1,8,14m; TB. 1,7,8,5–7; MS. 2,6,12:72.4–7; 4,4,6:57.17f.; 15,8: 215.20–216.2; VS. 10,20; ŚB. 5,4,2,7–10.
Baudh. 12,11:102.3–7; Āp. 18,16,14–16; Hir. 13,6,33–34; Kāty. 15,6,10–12.

The present rite concerns the remainder of the unction fluid, dripping down from the anointed. It parallels the rite for the disposal of the unction fluid left in the collective vessel after the four unction cups had been filled.[1] As to the form of the present rite two versions can be discerned: the version of MS. (and KS.) in the main followed by Āp. and Hir., and on the other hand the version of the Taittirīyakas (TB., Baudh.) and the WhYV. It is further to be observed that MS. and KS., followed by Hir., place this rite after the enthronement and related rites.[2]

According to the version of MS.–KS., as described by Āp. and Hir., the adhvaryu collects the liquid which has dripped into the unction cups during the act of wiping upward the unction fluid,[3] in the unction cup made of pālāśa wood,[4] and goes to the apartment of that royal consort who is the mother of the heir apparent. While the heir apparent takes hold of him from behind, the adhvaryu makes two libations with the remainder of the unction fluid in the domestic fire (*aupāsana-*),[5] reciting both times: "O Prajāpati, no other than thou hath encompassed all these beings; be that ours for which we sacrifice to thee; may we be lords of wealth". Between the third and fourth pāda of this stanza he intercalates the names of the sacrificer and the heir apparent, the first time in the wrong order – e.g. Daśaratha is the son of Rāma –, the second time in the right order – Rāma is the son of Daśaratha.[6]

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[1] For the latter rite I refer to the chapter: Preparation of the unction fluid.

[2] Cf. Vārāha 3,3,3,37; Āp. 18,19,9 mentions this as an alternative.

[3] Cf. preceding chapter.

[4] Cf. Vārāha 3,3,2,50.

[5] That the rite takes place in the apartment of the royal consort is according to the Taittirīyaka version. Mānava and Vārāha (3,3,3,37) have it performed at the gārhapatya fire.

The Taittirīyaka version as given by Baudh. prescribes that the adhvaryu takes the pālāśa cup in which the remainder of the unction fluid is gathered to the house of the heir apparent. There, while the chief royal consort (the mother of the heir apparent) and the heir apparent take hold of him from behind, the adhvaryu offers only one libation, probably of ghee as the libatory substance is not mentioned,[7] at which he recites the Prajāpati stanza but without the addition of the names of the sacrificer and his son. Then the adhvaryu hands the pālāśa cup to the heir apparent, saying: "This cup will be your heritage; when I (shall) anoint you, this will be yours".[8] Thereupon they return to the place of sacrifice where the other remainder of the unction fluid, left in the collective vessel at the time of its division over the four unction cups, is poured in the āgnīdhra fire as an offering for Rudra.[9]

Much the same account is given by the WhYV. The WhYV., however, has the whole episode take place on the place of sacrifice. The formula for handing over the pālāśa cup to the heir apparent is given by Kāty.: "This sacrificial work (*karman-*) of mine, this force (*vīrya-*), my son will continue".[10] Then follows the libation of ghee in the gārhapatya fire with the Prajāpati formula in which the names of the sacrificer and his son are intercalated in the wrong and then in the right order as above. Eventually the remainder of the unction fluid is poured into the āgnīdhra fire as an offering for Rudra.[11]

ANNOTATIONS

Dealing with this ceremony Weber adequately compares it to the sampratti ceremony in which the dying father places all his mental and physical faculties in his son who is thus enabled to continue his father's existence.[12] According to an idea common to Indian thought the son continues his father's bodily existence; the father is reborn as his son: "In your offspring you are reborn; this, o mortal, is your immortality."[13] As has been seen the unction is the sacrificer's rebirth as well as his death. The present rite is quite in line with this idea in that it stresses, by means of the interchanging of their names, the identity of the father with his son, in whom he is reborn, or in that it, according to the other version, guarantees the continuity of the sacrificer's existence by means of the remainder of the unction fluid (the sacrificer's *karman-* and *vīrya-*) passed on to the son.

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[6] Āp. and Hir. also add the name of the mother, which can also be changed then; e.g. the first time: "D. is the son of R., the son of Sītā", and the second time: "R. is the son of D., the son of Kauśalyā".

[7] Cf. Āp. 24,1,23: "If the verb *juhoti* has no object, ghee is to be understood as sacrificial substance".

[8] Cf. the identical formula used when the adhvaryu hands the bow to the heir apparent in Baudh.'s version of the chariot drive (12,13:106.3). It is not on record in the saṃhitās and brāhmaṇas.

[9] Cf. the chapter: Preparation of the unction fluid.

[10] This formula is also used at the conclusion of the new and full moon sacrifice, cf. Hillebrandt, *NVO.*, p. 173.

[11] Probably the Taittirīyakas originally also held that it was the unction remainder which was offered to Rudra in the āgnīdhra fire, not the division remainder. TB., speaking only once of a remainder (*uccheṣaṇa-*), seems to refer to the unction remainder (1,7,8,5), while the division remainder is nowhere mentioned.

The core of the ceremony under discussion is the offering of the remainder of the unction fluid to Prajāpati in the domestic fire of the chief royal consort, or its being handed over to the heir apparent. This demonstrates in a limpid and explicit form the significance of the remainder, already met with on other occasions; like the extra element in numerical systems it encompasses, expresses the whole and is at the same time the principle of continuity, the seed of a new production cycle. In this connection the Prajāpati stanza, recited at the offering either of the unction remainder itself or of a ghee libation in the apartment of the heir apparent, deserves attention. It is the last stanza which gives the solution of the cosmogonical riddle, known as the Hiraṇyagarbha hymn.[14] It is used throughout the ritual especially in those cases where continuity of life and fertility are at stake: as the offering verse in an iṣṭi performed to obtain offspring and cattle;[15] at the end of an offering to the Fathers (who are, as is well-known, associated with fertility) during the Soma sacrifice;[16] as the offering verse for the oblation of a dish which is prepared from the leavings of a cow sacrifice to the Fathers on the ekāṣṭakā;[17] in several "rites de passage" such as marriage,[18] parting of the hair,[19] promoting the birth of a male child (*puṃsavana-*), name giving, first eating, first shaving.[20] Significant is also its use as an offering verse for the offering of boiled-over milk in an anthill; this latter rite has already been discussed,[21] and it has been seen that it purports to the safeguarding of offspring and cattle.[22] The use of this formula in the present rite lies in the same sphere. The insertion of the names of the sacrificer and his son in the stanza seems to indicate that there is an intimate relation, if not identity, between Prajāpati and the sacrificer. Thus the formula seems to convey the idea that the sacrificer (and his son) encompasses all beings, like the cosmic man Prajāpati himself.

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[12] Cf. ŚB. 14,4,3,15–29; KauṣUp. 2,15.

[13] TB. 1,5,5,6; on the father's rebirth as his own son, cf. also AB. 7, 13,9; ŚB. 12,4,3,1; Mānava DhŚ. 9,8. It will be seen to occupy an important place in the Śunaḥśepa legend too. Cf. also J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (London, 1951), p. 252.

[14] RV. 10,121. For this hymn which describes under various names the primeval principle or god cf. H. Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung*, p. 27.

[15] Cf. Caland, *W.O.*, no. 108.

[16] Cf. Āp. 13,12,12; CH. no. 231.

[17] Cf. HirGS. 2,15,13. The ekāṣṭakā (eighth day after full moon in the month Māgha), as already has been seen (chapter: Iṣṭis for Anumati-Nirṛti), is considered the spouse of the year.

[18] Cf. HirGS. 1,19,8; ŚāṅkhGS. 1,18,4; ĀśvGS. 1,4,4.

[19] Cf. HirGS. 2,1,3; ŚāṅkhGS. 1,22,7; ĀśvGS. 1,14,3.

In the light of these considerations it can be said that in the present rite the sacrificer, like his prototype Prajāpati, is shown to encompass the universe (all beings) with respect to space as well as with respect to time: by means of the handing-over of the unction remainder and by the interchanging of names he extends himself over the subsequent generations and time cycles ("Daśaratha is the son of Rāma") and, on the other hand, resumes them in himself ("Rāma is the son of Daśaratha").

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[20] Cf. resp. HirGS. 2,2,2; 2,4,10; 2,5,6; 2,6,2.

[21] I refer to the discussion on the kṣetriya offering, chapter: Iṣṭis for Anumati-Nirṛti.

[22] It may also be noticed that the Prajāpati stanza is used as the offering verse at the offering of the two mahiman cups resp. before and after the offering of the omentum of the sacrificial horse (cf. Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, nos. 554 and 559). Here too the names of the sacrificer and his son are inserted in the stanza. These two cups are said to have come into existence before and after the birth of the sacrificial horse, represented as the living image of the universe, and thus to surround him on both sides. Being equated to day and night, their function seems to be to make the cosmic horse pass safely the joints between the subsequent time cycles of day and night (cf. TS. 7,5,25,2; BĀU. 1,1,1–2).

XVI

THE CHARIOT DRIVE

TS. 1,8,15; TB. 1,7,9; MS. 2,6,11–12; 4,4,5–6; KS. 15,8; VS. 10,21–25; ŚB. 5,4,3; Baudh. 12,7;12,12–14; Āp. 18,17; Hir. 13,6,1–16; 24; Kāty. 15,6,13–36.

After the unction rites a chariot drive, combined with a raid on a cow herd, takes place. According to Baudh., who in this respect copies the vājapeya, the chariot drive has the character of a race, in which several competitors take part.

Insertion in the Soma paradigma[1]

According to Baudh. the preparation (taking down the chariot from its transport cart, harnessing etc.) takes place at the moment of the distribution of the dakṣiṇās.[2] Perhaps this is also the intention of Āp. and Hir., though they give all rites connected with the chariot drive as a whole, without interposition of other rites; in the vājapeya, however, they prescribe the same moment for the preparation as does Baudh.[3] The chariot drive proper commences after the prelude (*prastāva-*) of the first pṛṣṭha stotra. The chariots come back after the libation of the mahendra-graha.[4]

In the WhYV. all the inserted rites, from the unction onward, are placed between the marutvatīya-graha and the drawing of the mahendra-graha.[5]

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[1] Cf. above, Chapter VIII.

[2] CH. no. 191. The distribution of the dakṣiṇās is, according to Lāṭy., the moment of the raid on the weak relatives (see below) (Lāṭy. 9, 1,15). The chariots are, according to Baudh., part of the dakṣiṇās for the Soma festival, together with gold, garments, horses, cows, elephants, slaves. The chariots, however, are passed over, as they are first to be used in the chariot race. In mind the sacrificer assigns his own chariot to the adhvaryu (12,7:96.4). The actual gift is effectuated later on, after the recitation of the Śunaḥśepa legend (12,16:110.5). For the chariots as part of the dakṣiṇās cf. also KS. 14,7:206.12.

[3] Āp. 18,3,1; Hir. 13,1,25.

[4] Cf. CH. no. 199–201. After the libation, the mahendra-graha is left in the sadas. The concluding rite, the drinking of the remainder, is put off till after the Śunaḥśepa recitation (12,16:110.9). Acc. to Āp. 18,20,1 and Hir. 13,6,41 the libation itself is also put off till after the Śunaḥśepa recitation.

[5] CH. noss 197 and 198.

Preparation

The chariot, placed on a transport cart (*rathavāhana-*), is standing at the S.E. corner of the mahāvedi (Baudh., Kāty.). While the adhvaryu says the formula: "Thou art the Vṛtra killing bolt (*vajra-*) of Indra, with thee may he slay his foe (Vṛtra)", the chariot is taken down. Then it is moved to the uttaravedi and the horses are bathed.[6] Hereafter the horses are harnessed to the chariot with the words: "By the precept of Mitra and Varuṇa, the directors, I yoke thee with the yoking of the sacrifice." According to the BlYV. three horses are harnessed to the chariot; according to the WhYV. four. The horses are rubbed on the back.[7]

Kāty. has the horses yoked at the S.E. corner of the mahāvedi, from where the chariot is driven along the 'path of the dakṣiṇās' to the starting point of the course, behind the cātvāla. The texts of the BlYV. are silent on this point. From Baudh., however, it appears that the chariots are conveyed thither[8] and that the starting point and finish of the race is there.

Mounting the chariot[9]

With the Viṣṇu steps, the sacrificer goes near the chariot and mounts it, according to the WhYV., with the formula: "For steadiness (*avyathāyai*), for independence (*svadhāyai*), (do I mount) thee, (I) the unimpaired Arjuna."[10] Then, according to the BlYV., the heir apparent[11] mounts after him and takes hold of him from behind with a triṣṭubh verse dedicated to Indra. According to the Taittirīyakas this verse is TS. 3, 4, 11 m: "O, thou much invoked, thou dost endure the foes; best be thy strength, thy gift here; bring riches with thy right hand, O Indra, thou art the lord of rich rivers." The Maitrāyaṇīyas take RV. 7, 21, 1:[12] "Pressed is the divine Soma beverage, mixed with milk, Indra rejoices in it from his birth. We attend to thee, O driver of the bay steeds, with sacrifices;

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[6] Both acts only in Baudh., as in the vājapeya (11,6:72.11–15). Here, however, without mantras.

[7] Baudh., as in the vājapeya (cf. 11,6:73.2–5), again without mantra.

[8] 12,12:103.4.

[9] In the following Baudh. will not be taken into account. His view will be given separately, below.

[10] The Kāṇva school has instead of Arjuna, Phālguna.

[11] *pratihita-*; Caland renders: "der ihm am nächsten stehenden Sohn". Baudh. calls him later on *rājaputra-* (12,12:104.1). Cf. also Index verborum of Caland's edition of Baudh. (vol. III, p. 79). The heir apparent probably acts as a charioteer (*sārathi-*) or a chariot fighter (*savyaṣṭhṛ-*), both of whom belong to the crew of the chariot.

[12] This verse belongs to the hotṛ ritual and is recited at the filling of the cup (CH. no. 187) in the ordinary Soma ritual.

attend to our laud at the time of the Somic rapture." With the same verse the brahman priest 'accompanies' the sacrificer on the right. The accompanying is understood by Caland as: walking along with the chariot.[13] The words *triṣṭubhānveti* mean, however, possibly that the brahman priest recites his mantra, while the sacrificer mounts the chariot.[14]

The chariot drive proper

With the formula: "At the instigation of the Maruts may I conquer", the drive begins. During his drive the sacrificer raids a kṣatriya armed with a bow who has taken up a position somewhere to the east or north of the sacrificial compound. The sacrificer shoots his arrows (a bow and arrows have been given to the sacrificer earlier, when he was equipped for the unction) at the kṣatriya, with the words: "The purpose has been fulfilled" (*āptaṃ manas*). Then he makes the chariot turn to the right with: "I (may be united) with Indra power" (*indriyeṇa vīryeṇa*), returns and halts at the place where he began his drive. Thus Āp. and Hir. prescribe. According to the WhYV. the central moment is the raid on a herd of a hundred or more cows, which belong to a relative of the sacrificer.[15] These cows have been posted to the north of the āhavanīya fire, where also the house fire of the sacrificer,[16] placed on a cart, has been moved. The sacrificer pulls up his chariot amidst the cows with the words: "We have reached through mind." Then saying: "With the Indra power (do I unite)" and: "I win these (cows), I make them mine", he touches one of the cows with the end of his bow.[17] Thereupon he drives round the place of sacrifice, passing east of the sacrificial post and halts between the sadas and the śālā, at the antaḥpātya post, with the words: "Being united with thee, O Indra, O quickly conquering, may we not go asunder, through loss of brahman. Standing on the chariot, bolt in hand, dost thou keep the reins of the good steeds."[18]

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[13] Also comm. ad Hir. 13,6,5: *dakṣiṇato brahmā gacchati.*

[14] Cf. K.S. 14,7:206.9. According to Hir. there is an alternative: the heir apparent takes hold of the sacrificer from behind or the brahman accompanies him on the right. Mān. seems to prescribe that it is the brahman, who mounts the chariot after the sacrificer, with these words, cf. Caland ad Āp. 18,17,4.

[15] *sva-*; probably the same as the *sva-* who officiated at the unction.

[16] *pūrvāgni-*; the term is not quite clear. Kāty.'s comm. takes it to mean the first house fire of the sacrifice (*prathamo gṛhasthasyāgniḥ*) or the gārhapatya fire.

[17] *sam indriyeṇa*; Weber (p. 58) translates: "Ganz durch (meine) Kraft", connecting these with the following: 'ersiege ich hier diese (Kühe)...' These last words only in ŚB. 5,4,3,10; cf. also TS. 1,8,15f., where also only '*sam aham indriyeṇa vīryeṇa*'. I take the words: "I win these (cows)... etc." as a separate mantra.

[18] The raid is also mentioned by Lāṭy. 9, 1, 14–22. There the king shoots his arrows

The touching with the bow's end finds another application in the BlYV. After the return of the chariot Āp. makes the sacrificer touch his wife (or the horses) with the bow's end with the same formula as the one used in putting down the chariot from its stand: "Thou art the Vṛtra killing bolt of Indra ... etc." Then he hands the bow to his wife with the words: "This bolt is highly force-winning (*vājasātama-*); through it let our son win force (*vāja-*)."[19]

Sandals of boar skin, amulets, concluding rites

Before stepping down from the chariot, the sacrificer puts on a pair of sandals of boar skin (*vārāhī upānahau*) with the words: "Thou art the ardour of the cattle, like thine may be my ardour."[20] Then he looks upon the earth saying: "Homage to Mother Earth, may I not hurt Mother Earth, may Mother Earth not hurt me." Then he steps down and puts on three amulets: a silver one with: "So great art thou, thou art life (*āyus-*), bestow life upon me"; one of udumbara wood, with: "Thou art food (*ūrj-*), bestow food upon me"; and a golden one, with: "Thou art the yoked (*yuj-*), thou art splendour, bestow splendour upon me."[21]

The rite with the amulets is in the WhYV. performed in another way. Two round plaques, each 100 mānas in weight,[22] are fixed to the right hind wheel of the transport cart, after the chariot has been put back on it. An udumbara shoot is hidden in the chariot track. The sacrificer touches the plaques with the formulas cited above and gives them to the brahman priest;[23] he also touches the udumbara shoot with the same words as above. Finally four libations for the unharnessing of the horses (*rathavimocanīya-*), dedicated to Agni, lord of the house, to Soma, lord of the trees, to the force (*bala-*) of Indra and to the force (*ojas-*) of the Maruts, are made. Then the chariot is put back on the transport cart with the verse: "The gander (*haṃsa-*) seated in purity, the bright one (*vasu-*)

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at his weak relatives and takes all their property. One third he gives to the priests, one third to those who take part in the drinking ceremony of the daśapeya, one third is given back to the relatives.

[19] Hir. 13,6,10: only the handing over of the bow. He mentions the touching as an alternative. The handing over is borrowed from the Maitrāyaṇīyas (cf. MS. 2,6,11:71.1; 4,4,5:55.20; Vārāha 3,3,3,6), Āp. clearly has doubled both acts.

[20] According to Baudh. 12,16:111.6 the sacrificer leaves these sandals in the water of the avabhṛtha bath and then puts on other leather sandals.

[21] With the Maitrāyaṇīyas the golden amulet has its place between the two others (cf. Āp. 18,17,13).

[22] We are not told whether they are of gold, silver, or any other material.

[23] Also according to the BlYV. the amulets are given to the brahman priest but only after the enthronement and connected rites have been completed.

seated in the atmosphere, the hotṛ seated at the altar, the guest seated in the house; seated among men, seated in the highest, seated in holy order, seated in the firmament; born of the waters, born of the cows, born of holy order, born of the mountains, the great holy order."[24] While the chariot is put back on its cart, the charioteer remains standing on it and jumps down afterwards.[25]

The conclusion is formed by the ceremony of lowering the arms of the sacrificer, already dealt with above (Preparation of the Sacrificer).

The sequence of the concluding rites is that of the Taittirīyakas, as it appears from the order of the mantras in TS. The Maitrāyaṇīyas have the following sequence: amulets, lowering of the arms, sandals of boar skin, alighting from the chariot, enthronement (to be dealt with later on), libations for unharnessing, putting back of the chariot on its stand (cf. Vārāha Śr. S. 3, 3, 3, 8–19). This sequence is followed by Hir. The WhYV. has: libations for unharnessing, sandals of boar skin, alighting from the chariot, putting back the chariot on its stand, amulets, lowering of the arms.

Procedure according to Baudh.

Baudh. splits the whole episode in two parts: first the adhvaryu performs the drive symbolically; then the actual race takes place, on which occasion the sacrificer is substituted by the heir apparent.[26] The putting on of the sandals of boar skin and the homage to Mother Earth form the beginning. Then they go to the place where the chariots are lined up. Apparently the chariot of the sacrificer has been driven thither, together with the dakṣiṇās, by the heir apparent, who alights when he sees them (the sacrificer, the adhvaryu, and their followers)[27] approaching. The adhvaryu takes the bow from the pratihita, bends it and mounts the chariot with the words: "At the instigation of the Maruts may I conquer." With: "The purpose has been fulfilled", he leans on the pole of the chariot (*kūbaram abhiniśrayate*). Then the heir apparent mounts after him and takes hold of him from behind. Thereupon the adhvaryu gives the bow back to the heir apparent and instructs him: "At a distance of 36 śamyā throws a rājanya is standing with 1000 cows that must be conquered. You will shoot an arrow at him, but you will miss him. Having vanquished him, you will carry off the cows along the "path of the dakṣiṇās."[28] The rājanya is also instructed: "The prince (*rājaputra-*) will shoot an arrow at you, but he will miss you. After having wiped the arrow with your upper garment, you must give it back to him."[29]

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[24] This verse is applied by the WhYV. to the stepping down of the sacrificer from the chariot (this stanza = RV. 4,40,5).

[25] This is prescribed in order to 'separate him from the *svargaloka-*', to which only the sacrificer is entitled. Otherwise he would be equal in power to the king (cf. TB. 1,7,9,6; ŚB. 5,4,3,23).

[26] Cf. the vājapeya, Baudh. 11,6–7.

[27] *uttarata ete rathā yuktās tiṣṭhanti, tān dṛṣṭvaiva pratihito 'vatiṣṭhati* (12,12:103.6).

Then follow the rites connected with the mahendra-graha. During the stotra the race begins, on which occasion also the raid on the rājanya and his cows takes place, though this is not expressly stated. During the race drums are beaten and cries (of victory) resound.[30] As an anumantraṇa to these cries the adhvaryu says: "Make the voices resound for Indra, make Indra win the force (*vāja-*), Indra has won the force."[31] When the śastra begins all sounds are stopped.

When the chariots have returned to their starting point, the adhvaryu goes to them and the same scene as above is repeated. Handing the bow to the heir apparent the adhvaryu says this time: "This bow will be your heritage, when I (shall) anoint you, this will be yours." Then they move on the chariot to the east entrance of the havirdhāna hut. The adhvaryu turns the chariot to the east and asks for the amulets, which he has formerly, immediately after the drawing of the mahendra-graha, suspended on separate strings from the roof beam of the havirdhāna hut.[32] The silver amulet he fastens to the left arm (of the sacrificer or of himself?), to the right arm the golden one and the one of udumbara wood, using the formulas already cited. Thereupon the ceremonial lowering of the arms takes place, as described earlier; then the amulets are strung together on one thread, and hung on the neck (of the sacrificer or of the adhvaryu himself?). Hereafter the adhvaryu drives to the āgnīdhrīya hut, and turns the chariot to the east. In the āgnīdhrīya fire the libations for unharnessing are made and finally the chariot is put back on its stand. The sacrificer seems to have a completely passive role with Baudh., who nowhere mentions him, so that it must be concluded that he is substituted by the adhvaryu and the heir apparent.

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[28] These cows will be given later on as dakṣiṇā for the Soma sacrifice (12,16:110.6). For the path of the dakṣiṇās, cf. Renou, *VRV*, p. 70 (s.v. *tīrtha-*); CH. p. 291.

[29] The bringing back of the arrows, shot at the weak relatives, is also prescribed by Lāṭy. (9,1,17). This is done with the cry: "O king, be victorous".

[30] *sampravadanti vācaḥ*; cf. Āp. 21,19,1 "*sarvā vāco vadanti*", meaning among others the cries of victory of the sacrificers at the mahendra-stotra of the mahāvrata festival. There also the cries coïncide with a chariot race.

[31] The mantra is cited in the vājapeya rite, Baudh. 11,8:77.8 (cf. TS. 1,7,8c).

[32] 12,13:104.7.

ANNOTATIONS

Chariot races and other games have often the function of regenerating the productive forces in the cosmos, of renewing the world.[33] This is also here clearly the purpose, as will be seen.

The chariot course belongs wholly to the sphere of the rites connected with the passing of the year. This is clearly to be seen in the vājapeya, of which sacrifice a chariot race is one of the culminating moments. According to some texts this sacrifice takes place after a year filled with preliminary offerings: Śāṅkhāyana (15, 1, 3) prescribes to offer during the year a series of so-called "*peya* offerings", at the end of the year the *vāja* sacrifice is performed (viz. the vājapeya proper). Of these *peya* offerings Baudh. 18, 51 says: "The *peya* offerings are the form of the months; the *vāja* (sacrifice) is the year. After having sacrificed with these rites during a year, he obtains the year."

The chariot is in harmony with the number of the seasons of the year: three horses, the chariot itself, the charioteer and the chariot fighter, making together six, the number of the seasons.[34] The renewing force roused by the chariot drive is the *vāja-*, which is incessantly mentioned by the mantras connected with the course, especially in the vājapeya.[35] The *vāja-* seems to represent the generative power which manifests itself in vegetation, in cattle, and in man, and by which new food, new life is obtained. The chariot is called *vāja-* winning and is also referred to as *vajra-*, instrument for winning the *vāja-*.[36] After his course the sacrificer finds the udumbara shoot hidden in the chariot track; the udumbara is practically synonymous with food (cf. ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 26) as is also often stated of the *vāja-*. Thus we can easily understand, that also in later times a chariot course is considered a means of obtaining rain and abundant crops.[37] Interesting here is also the later rathayātra in spring, celebrating the resuscitation of Kāma, whose friend Vāsanta (spring) drives about the earth to proclaim Kāma's renewed reign over the world.[38] This shows the intimate connection in the chariot course of the revivifying of the generative forces and the renewing of the kingship at the beginning of the year.

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[33] Cf. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 47, and the literature cited there.

[34] TB. 1,7,9,1–2. cf. AV., 8,23 where the chariot is identified with the year. The parts of the chariot are also identified with the elements of the cosmos: AV. 8,8,22; also cf. TB. 1,3,6,4.

[35] For the *vāja-* 'concept' see Gonda, *o.c.*, pp. 47–52.

[36] For this meaning of the word *vajra-* cf. Gonda, *o.c.*, p. 52.

[37] J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie*, 2,199.

[38] *O.c.*, 1,162–168.

Essential, in my opinion, for this process is the rotatory motion; whether the course takes the character of a race, as in the vājapeya, or is performed by a single chariot, as in the rājasūya, the track begins and ends at the same point. In this respect the parallelism of the chariot race and the turning of the wheel of udumbara wood in the vājapeya, taking place synchronically, is elucidating. The *vajra-* is often associated with a revolving motion; thus the wheel of udumbara wood is called a *vajra-*,[39] the cows are surrounded by *vāc- vajra-*.[40] The girdle of the dīkṣita is also called a *vajra-*.[41]

In the vājapeya we may study the cosmic symbolism of the chariot course. The wheel, already mentioned, is fixed to a pole in or near the cātvāla.[42] Of the cātvāla it is said: "Here was yonder sun; from here they brought it to yonder world."[43] Elsewhere[44] the cātvāla is identified with the Ocean. In the pole surmounted by the wheel, may be recognized the axis mundi crowned by the sun,[45] that rises out of the Ocean and goes down in it. While the wheel is turned, the chariot race takes place beginning and ending at a point behind the cātvāla, representing the Ocean. The meta is identified with the heaven or the sun.[46] The sacrificer goes by the chariot course from the Ocean to heaven[47] and back to the Ocean again, as does the sun. The formula with which the chariot is put back on its stand is elsewhere called "the difficult ascension" (*dūrohaṇa-*).[48] Here in the rājasūya, however, the descent seems to be meant, which is implied in the first part of the verse: "the gander seated in purity" (the sun or zenith), 'the bright one seated in the atmosphere', 'the hotṛ seated at the altar' (the earth).[49] Thus the course of the chariot corresponds to that of the sun, encompassing in its march the whole world. This may also be the reason that the length of the course is expressed in a number denoting the totality of the cosmos: in the vājapeya the length is 17 bowshots, the number of Prajāpati;[50] in the rājasūya it is 36 śamyā throws, which number is associated with the highest place in the universe (*nāka-*) and with the year.[51] It may also be significant that, according to the WhYV, the house fire is also situated within the orbit described by the chariot. The house fire often stands for the earth as the āhavanīya fire stands for the heaven. Thus both heaven and earth are encompassed.

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[39] TB. 1,3,6,1; MS. 1,11,7:168.12.

[40] AB. 4,1,4.

[41] MS. 3,6,7:69.2.

[42] Cf. Āp. 18,4,3; TB. 1,3,6,1. According to the WhYV. near the utkara (cf. Weber, *Sitz. ber. Berlin*, 1882, p. 788). This possibly means between utkara and cātvāla. On the turning of this wheel for activating the *vāja-*, cf. J. Gonda, "Ancient Indian Kingship", *Numen*, 4 (1957), 38 f.

[43] MS. 1, 11,7:169.3. Cf. PB. 6,7,24; JB. 1,87 (*Auswahl*, no. 11).

[44] TB. 1,5,10,1.

[45] On the solar value of the wheel in general: R. Pettazzoni, *Essays* (Leiden, 1954), p. 95ff.; Macdonell, *VM*, p. 155. On the axis mundi: J. Auboyer, *Le trône* (Paris, 1949), p. 93ff.

[46] TB. 1,3,6,5; PB. 9,1,35 and 38.

[47] Cf. TB. 1,3,6,1.5; PB. 18,7,9. Compare also AB. 4,7,4.: the gods take, on the occasion of a race, the terrestrial fire as starting point and the sun as meta.

[48] Śāṅkh. 11,14,13.

[49] Cf. ŚB. 6,7,3,11.

It appears to me, that taking all this into account we may consider that through the rotatory movement round the world the *vāja-* is resuscitated and the universe renewed. The chariot drive, parallel to the course of the sun, evokes the renewing of the circulation of the productive forces of the cosmos; in this respect we may compare the purport of the chariot course to that of the unction.[52] In this way it can also be understood why the sacrificer, who, during the unction, stands with raised arms, lowers his arms only after the chariot race.[53]

Through his tour the king-sacrificer also integrates the universe in his person. This may appear from the prescript that the sacrificer should recite during the vājapeya race the so-called ujjiti verses:[54] "Agni won with one syllable the voice (*vāc-*), the Aśvins won with two syllables the breathing in and the breathing out ..." The sequence continues up to and including the number 17: "Prajāpati won with 17 syllables the stoma consisting of 17 parts." After what was observed about the symbolism of numbers, the meaning of this rite is clear: the highest number of the series, 17, encompasses the preceding ones, as Prajāpati, identified with the sacrificer, encompasses the universe. Elucidating in this respect is also the myth that his creatures left Prajāpati, who was exhausted, in pairs; in the form of a chariot he encircled them and integrated them again in his person.[55] Prajāpati-chariot is further equated to the sun.[56]

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[50] For the number of 17 cf. Weber, *Ueber den Vājapeya, Sitz. ber. Berlin*, 1892, p. 777.

[51] ŚB. 8,4,1,24.

[52] For the fertilizing circular motion of the sun cf. e.g. AV. 11,5,12: the sun, as a *brahmacārin-*, carries a great phallos along the earth (*anu-bhṛ-*), he sprinkles seed on the earth, through it live the four quarters.

[53] For the raised arms cf. above, chapters: Preparation of the sacrificer, and: Unction. The arms are identified with Mitra and Varuṇa, whose function in the representation of the sunrise gives the explanation of their identification with the arms of the sacrificer. In the same light we may place their appearance in the mantra accompanying the harnessing of the horses.

[54] Cf. Āp. 18,4,19; TS. 1,7,11.

[55] ŚB. 9,4,1,2. The myth is told in connection with the rāṣṭrabhṛt libations (cf. Āp. 17,19,12).

[56] ŚB. 9,4,1,15.

The renewing and integrating aspects of the course of the sun are clearly interrelated in AV. 11, 5, 6: "The sun passes within a day, from the eastern Ocean, to the Ocean on the other side (*uttara- samudra-*), gathering together the worlds; it shapes them repeatedly". It is interesting to note that the sun in this verse is styled: *dīkṣita-*, the dīkṣita being intimately related to the king. Moving round the world like the sun, the king renews it and at the same time integrates it in his person. Thus we may expect to find in the episode of the chariot drive the representation of conception and birth. Moreover, as seen before, the notion of birth is intimately connected with Vṛtra-killing and victory, to which the mantras refer. In this light the scene of the homage to Mother Earth, before alighting from the chariot (or, according to Baudh., before the chariot drive), shows to advantage; especially when we take into account that the sacrificer now puts on sandals of boar skin: the boar often represents the male partner of the earth.[57] In this connection may be also quoted the stanza with which in the vājapeya, the chariot is moved to the uttaravedi:[58] "At the engendering of the *vāja-* we commemorate the mother, the mighty, by name, into whom all this world has entered; in her let the god Savitṛ instigate for us holy order (*dharma-*)".[59] The last words: *Savitā dharma sāviṣat* are explained by ŚB. 5, 1, 4, 4 as: "Savitṛ must impel the sacrificer in her (Aditi)", which in this context must have the connotation of "engendering the sacrificer".[60]

The touching of the wife of the sacrificer with the end of the bow also belongs, in my opinion, to the sphere of conception and birth. This bow is called *vāja-* winning or Vṛtra-killing vajra; the vajra is, as we saw already, 'instrumental in fertilizing and in promoting life'.[61] We may also recall that Indra's killing of Vṛtra with the vajra connotes Indra's birth. According to the WhYV. not the wife, but one of the cows is touched with the end of the bow. In this connection it may be worthwhile to note that the cows which the sacrificer conquers are part of the dakṣiṇās. On account of the dakṣiṇā cows of the Soma ritual it is said that Indra entered the dakṣiṇā and was born from the dakṣiṇā.[62] The king at the chariot race is identified with Indra, as clearly appears from the formula with which the heir apparent takes hold of him when mounting the chariot. His pulling up admidst the cows and touching them is a revitalizing contact comparable to conception. The giving of the cows to the priests afterwards may then be interpreted as the discarding of the embryonic envelopes after the birth and the disposing of them by placing them back in the womb of kingship, the brahman, represented by the priests. The birth from the brahman seems to me to be implied also in the context of the chariot course: MS. 4, 4, 5 : 55.11 dealing with the brahman priest, who 'accompanies' the king with a triṣṭubh-verse, says: 'the brahman of the sacrifice is Prajāpati; from Prajāpati Indra was quickened, born (*asūyata*); from Prajāpati (the sacrificer) is quickened, born'.[63] As to the bow scene, also Baudh.'s version deserves attention. According to him the bow is handed over, not to the wife, but to the heir apparent, with practically the same words as those used when the cup with the remainder of the unction waters is handed over to him. We already know the remainder as the principle or seed for reproduction; in this respect there is certainly a parallelism between the cup with the residue of the unction waters, and the bow, connected with the *vāja-*, the life-bringing substance. Both are passed on to the son, thus accentuating the rebirth of the king in his heir. In this way it is not surprising that it is the heir apparent who, according to Baudh., performs the actual chariot race.

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[57] Cf. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 129ff., and the literature cited there.

[58] Cf. Baudh. 11,6:72.10.

[59] TS. 1,7,7,c.

[60] Cf. also the course of the Aśvins, whose chariot coming out of the sea, drives along the sky. Now the Aśvins also serve as escorts to the bride, and the RV. contains allusions to the myth that the daughter of the Sun god chose them as her husband after a racing contest (cf. Macdonell, *VM*, p. 52, and the RV. passages there cited).

[61] Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 98. For the sexual value of the bow cf. also TS. 4,5,6,c–d.

[62] TS. 6,1,3,6; MS. 3,6,8:70.5.

Against the background of birth we may also view the victory cries, which, according to Baudh., accompany the race. PB, 18, 8, 7 dealing with the first words of the bahiṣpavamāna-stotra of the abhiṣecanīya in which Vāyu is mentioned, says: "Vāyu is voice, he yokes the sacrifice with the voice, with it (the voice) (the sacrificer) is anointed; from all voices he is quickened, born (*sūyate*), all voices call him king.' It is also interesting that the birth of the sun from the world-egg is greeted with cries.[64] It may be interesting to observe the correspondence between the ideas expressed by the chariot drive – viz. the regeneration of the world by a tour round the world, corresponding to the course of the sun –, and certain cosmogonical ideas of the Orphians.[65] There the world is represented as an egg produced by a serpent, Chronos,[66] which may be compared to the chariot as representing the year. The connection chariot drive – time is perhaps also to be seen in the verse, with which, according to the WhYV., the sacrificer mounts the chariot and in which he is identified with Arjuna and Phālguna. Herein Weber sees a nakṣatra name.[67] The nakṣatras give their names to the divisions of time and in the nakṣatra name the king mounting the chariot is put in relation with the divisions of time. In this connection we may cite also the verse, with which the chariot is yoked in the vājapeya;[68] this verse refers to the 27 Gandharvas, who, in the beginning, yoked the horse. These 27 Gandharvas correspond to the 27 nakṣatra's.[69] The serpent who produces the world-egg is also called Heracles, 'which', as Onians remarks, 'may point to an identification with the sun or rather with the circle of the sun's path.'

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[63] Cf. also MS. 1,11,7:168.13., where Prajāpati = the brahman priest (*brahmá yajñasya*) who quickens the sacrificer from the wheel on which he –the priest – sits while reciting his sāman, and which is turned synchronically with the chariot race in the vājapeya. From this it may be inferred that the brahman power (represented here by the brahman priest and the sāman) by the giratory motion on the wheel gives birth to the sacrificer. It is tempting to connect this scene with the 'brahman wheel' of Śvetāśvatara Up. 1,6 which symbolizes the cycle of existences and causes repeated rebirth, thus linking up the ideas of rebirth from the sacrifice with the later metempsychosis doctrines. I do not mean to say that the metempsychosis originated in the ritual, but, in my opinion, both started from the same basis, using the same symbols.

[64] Chānd. Up. 3,19,3.

During the drive in the chariot, the sacrificer should shoot his arrows at an equal, a rājanya. Perhaps we may recognize in this rājanya the representative of the old, worn-out king (according to Lāṭy. the *weak* relatives are raided), who must die and be replaced by the new king at the beginning of the new time cycle. In this respect Frazer's materials on the 'funeral origin of games'[70] may be useful. Though I am not inclined to subscribe to Sir James's theory, that the old king after a certain lapse of time had to show his strength in a contest and on failure was put to death,[71] we may retain the fact that the chariot drive or race marks the dying of the old king and the manifestation, or, as I should like to put it, the birth, of the new king. It is noteworthy that in the WhYV. the representative of the old king should be a relative (*sva-*). Also Lāṭy. speaks of relatives. The relatives, as we had already the occasion to observe, represent the womb from which the king is born. Thus we may conclude that from the old king the new king –who in fact can be one and the same person – is born.

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[65] Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*, 250f.

[66] The idea of the world egg is perhaps also present in the rites of the chariot drive: the gold and silver plaques which the sacrificer puts on, point in that direction (cp. above: the preparation of the sacrificer).

[67] Weber, p. 57.

[68] VS. 9,7.

[69] Weber, *Über den Vājapeya, Sitzber. Berlin*, 1392, p. 773.

[70] J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God*, p. 92–105.

[71] The death of the old king is not necessarily the result of a contest; as in the rājasūya there is, according to most texts, no racing competition but a drive by a single chariot. The essential seems to be not the idea of contest, but the circular motion. As to the actual killing of the old king we may further observe that the central point is the renewing of the kingship and of all that is related to it. This renewal may be expressed by the killing of the old king, but is only one of a great number of possible symbols. For instance in the dīkṣā we see the figuration of death and rebirth without any reference to actual killing. The recorded cases of the killing of kings, or, more generally, of human sacrifice may very well represent rather a specialization, out of a number of other possibilities, than the original state of things. The theory, that man as a sacrificial victim is primary and that he was secondarily substituted by an animal or a plant does not take into account the intimate interrelation of man, animal and vegetation, which belongs to

The purport of the chariot course may be summarized as follows: through his world encompassing tour the king rouses the *vāja-*, the fertility powers, setting them in circular motion. By this circular motion the cosmos and with it the king himself who integrates the cosmos are reborn.

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the origins of symbolic thinking. The human victim and its substitute will also originally have existed side by side as they do in the Vedic ritual, and in fact till the present day. (Contrary to this W. Kirfel in *Beiträge... W. Schubring dargebracht, Alt- und Neuindische Studien*, No. 7 (Hamburg, 1951), ("Der Aśvamedha und der Puruṣamedha") pp. 39–50, who poses the priority of the Puruṣamedha to the Aśvamedha.)

XVII

ENTHRONEMENT, GAME OF DICE

TS. 1,8,16; TB. 1,7,10; MS. 2,6,12; 4,4,6; KS. 15,8; VS. 10,26–29; ŚB. 5,4,3.
Baudh. 12,14–15; Āp. 18,18,5–19,6; Hir. 13,6,17–23; 25–32; Kāty. 15,7,1–21.

After the king has alighted from the chariot and ceremonially lowered his arms, his enthronement, combined with a game of dice, takes place.

Throne and its postition

To this end a hut is built to accommodate the throne and the dicing ground. The place of this hut is on the east side of the āgnīdhrīya fire (Āp., Hir.) or on the west side (Baudh.). Vārāha,[1] who does not speak of the hut, places the throne on the south side of the āhavanīya fire, the regular place of the sacrificer, while Mānava places it on the north side of it. The WhYV.[2] puts the throne on the place of the tiger skin, where the unction was performed. This hut has in the middle an elevation of earth (*khara-*, Hir.) and four or eight outlet gutters (*apasrava-*, Āp., Hir., Baudh.). The entrance is in the south (Hir.) and the roof slopes from east to west (Āp.). In this hut a throne of khadira (Hir., Āp., Baudh.) or udumbara wood is placed, with the words: "You are the navel of kingly power." Then the throne is covered with a hide, arranged as an upper garment (Āp., Hir.).[3] This covering is fixed with the words: "Fix me in the people" (Āp. and Hir. only).[4] The throne is described by ŚB. 5, 4, 4, 1 as: intertwined with leather thongs (*vardhravyūta-*) and pierced, referring to the seat of the throne.[5]

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[1] 3,3,3,13.

[2] According to the WhYV. the hut is built only later on; see below.

[3] *kṛttyadhivāsa-*, Caland 'Fellüberwurf'. Baudh. speaks of an *uttaram aṣṭanam adhivāsam*, explained by Bhavasvāmin as an upper garment (made from a hide), with the hair turned to the outside. According to the WhYV. the throne is covered with an upper garment (*adhivāsa-*).

[4] *upanahani nahyati*; cf. Caland ad Āp. 18,18,6. Comm. on Hir. 13,6,18: 'he attaches it to the legs of the throne'.

[5] For the form of the throne, cf. J. Auboyer, *Le trône* . . ., p. 16ff.

Enthronement

Then the sacrificer moves near the throne with the Viṣṇu steps (Vārāha) and mounts it while the adhvaryu says: "Sit thou on the soft, sit thou on the pleasant seat. May she not hurt you." The sacrificer answers: "May she not hurt me."[6]

The WhYV. after having placed the throne with: "You are soft ... etc." and covered it with an upper garment with: "You are the navel of kingly power", makes the sacrificer sit down on it with: "Sit thou on the soft, sit thou on the pleasant seat, sit thou on the womb of kingly power."

When the sacrificer is seated the adhvaryu says: "Varuṇa, whose ordinances are observed, has set himself down in the waters (*pastyāsu*), the skilful, for lordship (*sāṃrājyāya*)."[7]

Here the WhYV. inserts the handing over of five dice to the sacrificer with the formula: "Thou art the surpassing (die; *abhibhū-*). The regions must be in accordance with you."[8] Then, only according to the WhYV., the sacrificer is beaten on the back with wooden sticks by the adhvaryu and his helpers. The accompanying formula, when this act is not performed silently, is: "We beat the sin away from you, we lead you past death." After this ceremony the sacrificer chooses a boon.[9]

Here Hir., following MS. and KS.,[10] places the concluding acts of the chariot drive.

Then the priests and the ratnins[11] sit down round the sacrificer on the throne. The adhvaryu is seated east, the brahman south, the hotṛ west and the udgātṛ north of the sacrificer. The ratnins seem to have no determined place, or it is prescribed that they should sit down east or north of the udgātṛ (Baudh., Mānava). The sacrificer from his throne addresses successively each of the chief priests with: "O, brahman," whereupon each answers with: "Thou, O king, art brahman", adding:

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[6] Thus Baudh. using the formulas of TS.; MS. and KS. have only: "thou art soft, a pleasant seat" and "sit thou on the soft, sit thou on the pleasant seat", for placing the throne and seating of the king resp., cf. Vārāha 3,3,3,13 and 15. The first of these two formulas is appropriated by Āp.; Hir. gives a contamination of the Taitt. and Maitr. rites, describing first the seating of the sacrificer with the the two formulas from MS.-KS., then repeating the seating with the Taitt. formulas: "may she not hurt you" and "may she not hurt me".

[7] According to Hir. the sacrificer himself mutters this stanza.

[8] The WhYV. detaches the episode with the five dice from the game of dice proper (cf. below).

[9] The choosing of a boon is also prescribed by the Maitrāyaṇīyas, but only after the dicing victory of the king and the giving of the dakṣiṇās (MS. 4,4,6: 57. 15).

[10] Cf. Vārāha 3,3,3,16–19.

[11] Mānava excludes here from the ratnins the carpenter (*takṣan-*) and the chariot maker (*rathakāra-*).

"Thou art Savitṛ of true quickening" (the adhvaryu); "Thou art Indra of true force" (the brahman priest); "Thou art Mitra, the kindly" (the hotṛ); "Thou art Varuṇa of true order" (the udgātṛ).[12]

In the WhYV. it is all four times the brahman priest who is addressed and who answers. Moreover, the WhYV. adds a fifth turn in which the brahman priest answers with the simple: "Thou art brahman",[13] without adding to it the identification with a god.

Preparing the dicing ground

With the words: "You are the Vṛtra killing bolt of Indra, thereby be subject to me", the brahman priest or the adhvaryu hands the sacrificial sword to the king. The king answers (Baudh.): "Thereby I shall be subject to you", and passes the sword on to the heir apparent and the ratnins.[14] When the sacrificial sword has reached the dice keeper, he (or he together with the cow slaughterer, Baudh.) cuts the outlines of the dicing ground in the earth and (Āp.) sprinkles it with water.

According to the WhYV. the dicing ground is prepared by the dice keeper and the pratiprasthātṛ. To this act the WhYV. applies the verse used in the Soma ritual for drawing the śukra-graha; then the two of them erect the hut, mentioned above, with the verse for drawing the manthin-graha.[15] The hut and dicing ground thus prepared must be near the house fire (*pūrvāgni-*), which has been moved up to the north of the āhavanīya fire at the time of the chariot drive. Then, as the WhYV. prescribes, the adhvaryu lays gold on the dicing ground and offers ājya, ladled out in four times, on it, with the words: "Agni, the Lord of the wide reaching order, delighting; Agni, the Lord of the wide-reaching order may rejoice in the ājya, svāhā."

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[12] In MS. and KS. the sequence of the gods identified with the king is: Savitṛ, Mitra, Indra, Varuṇa; the WhYV. has Savitṛ, Varuṇa, Indra, Rudra. Cf. also following note.

[13] This is also the procedure followed by Śāṅkh. (16,18,3–7). The gods listed there are: Savitṛ, Indra, Varuṇa, Rudra.

[14] The order in which the sword is passed is given by Āp. as follows: brahman, king, pratihita, purohita, (other) ratnins; Hir.: brahman (or adhvaryu), king, purohita, pratihita, (other) ratnins; Baudh: adhvaryu, king, sūta, sūtagrāmaṇī, sajāta (kinsman), sajātagrāmaṇī, saṃgrahītṛ, akṣavāpa together with the govyaccha (cow slaughterer); Vārāha: brahman, king, pratihita, senānī, saṃgrahītṛ, sūta, grāmaṇī, akṣavāpa; WhYV.: purohita (or adhvaryu), king, brother of the king, sthapati (chief; the technical meaning of the term is not clear; cf. Macdonell-Keith, *V.I.*, II, 486). Cp. the more extensive list of ratnins in the ratnīnāṃ havīṃṣi, where however the sajāta, the brother of the king, who according to the comm. on Kāty. is identical with the relative (*sva-*) officiating at the unction, and the sthapati do not occur. Probably both accounts of the ratnins were originally not related to each other, just as the ratnīnāṃ havīṃṣi may originally have been independent of the unction complex.

[15] Cf. CH. no. 132, c–d. These verses are RV. 10, 123,1: 'Vena has driven on the females that have Pṛśni as an embryo, he, whose chorion is the light, at the measuring of the world of space. Him, in the meeting place of the waters and the sun, the priests lick with their songs, (as the cows) their calf'; and RV. 5,44,1: 'From him, who sits on the strew, who finds the sun, you should as of old, as before, as always, as at present, milk with your speech, the superiority; from the westward turned Vṛjana(?) you should milk the swift, who wins the females among which you wax.'

The game of dice[16]

As the intricacies of the ritual game occurring here and in the agnyādheya are not revealed by the texts, which moreover differ considerably, I shall confine myself to rendering the passages on the game as it occurs in the rājasūya and to drawing some general conclusions.

Āpastamba: "The akṣavāpa strews more than a hundred or more than a thousand golden dice[17] (on the dicing ground). Four qualified (*tadyoga-*) persons: a brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya, a vaiśya and a śūdra play for the parts of a four-year-old cow (*paṣṭhauhī-*). They proclaim (the parts of) an odana (substituting the parts of the cow).[18] The fee for this ritual act are the two oxen that drew up the fire to (the north of) the āhavanīya hearth.[19] They are to be given to the brahman priest. With the words: "The king has burst forth" (*udbhinnam rājnaḥ*), he (the brāḥmaṇa player?) takes out (*udupya*) 140 golden dice, wins and hands five dice to the king with the words: "This (man) has become king over the regions (*diśo 'bhy ayaṃ rājābhūt*)".

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[16] For the dicing game see H. Lüders, "Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien", *Abh. d. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, N. F. IX, 2 (Berlin, 1907); W. Caland, "Zum altindischen Würfelspiel", *ZDMG*, 62 (1908), pp. 123–8; A. B. Keith, "The game of dice", *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 823–8; G. J. Held, *The Mahābhārata, an ethnological study* (London-Amsterdam, 1935), Ch. V, Gambling; K. de Vreese, "The game of dice in ancient India", in *Orientalia Neerlandica*, (Leiden, 1948), pp. 349–62.

[17] The dice in the ritual game are to be conceived of as nuts of the vibhītaka tree (Terminalia Bellerica) or imitations thereof. Most probably they were not marked by pips or otherwise; cf. Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 17–19.

[18] *odanam udbruvate*; it seems to me that this expression means that the players proclaim parts of an odana as their stakes in the game. This odana substitutes the cow, mentioned in the previous sūtra. Caland renders the expression with: "Sie erklären als Ersatz dieser Kuh einen Reisbrei." The words *odanam udbruvate*, however, are completed by Baudh. (cp. below) with indications about the actual parts of the players. While Āp. seems to refer to the stakes, Baudh. refers to the portions each player gets of the assembled stakes after each turn, according to its outcome. On the substitution of the cow by an odana cf. Caland ad Āp. 18,19,2b and 5,19,4. On the portions of the stake cf. Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 61.

[19] *pūrvāgnivāhau*; This prescript seems to be borrowed from the WhYV.; cf. Kātyāyana, below. The *pūrvāgni-* seems to be the house fire of the sacrificer, moved on a car to a place north of the āhavanīya at the time of the chariot drive. In Āp.'s context the gārhapatya fire will be meant, cf. CH. no. 106.

Hiraṇyakeśin: "The akṣavāpa strews 150 or 250 dice (on the dicing ground). Having, with the words: "The king has burst forth", pushed aside four dice and having added 104 dice (to those on the dicing ground?),[20] they play for (the parts of) a four-year-old cow. "A brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya, a vaiśya and a śūdra" (are the players), as the sacred tradition has it;[21] having won (the portions of) the odana that substitutes the cow (*odanam adhipanaṃ vijitya*), he (the brāhmaṇa player?) hands five dice to the sacrificer with the words: "This (man) has become king of the regions." (The sacrificer) puts them back (on the dicing ground)."

The comm. on Hir. gives some interesting, though not wholly clear, details, perhaps referring to another way of dicing, not intended by the author of the sūtra. The four dice that are pushed aside seem to be special ones: "Great as a niṣka", "weighing more than four mānas", "of descending appellation" (*avarasaṃjñaka-*; viz.: kṛta, tretā, dvāpara, kali?); these special dice are quadrangular, triangular, bow shaped and circular respectively. They are perhaps intended to serve as markers or lots that are drawn by the players to determine their graha (the number of dice, moved by each player): "The brāhmaṇa takes from (?on account of?) the quadrangular, the kṣatriya from the triangular, the vaiśya from the bow-shaped, and the śūdra from the circular. Having so taken, each takes some of the undetermined dice and drops them on the dicing ground; then he must divide them four by four".[22]

Baudhāyana: "The akṣavāpa and the govyaccha[23] throw 150 dice on the dicing ground. Then (the adhvaryu) pushes aside five dice and hands them to the sacrificer, with the words: "This (man) has become king of the regions." The sacrificer throws them back on the (other) dice.[24] Then they proclaim (the portions of) the odana: the brahman priest and the sacrificer receive different portions (*nānāṃśin-*), the sūta and the grāmaṇī have one portion in common (*samānāṃśin-*), as have the kṣattṛ and the saṃgrahitṛ. Now a dicing expert (*matākṣa iva*) seats himself on the seat of the king, pushes aside 104 dice with the words: "The king has burst forth", and arranges them so that they are touching each other at the edges, saying: "The brāhmaṇa has made kṛta" (*kṛtaṃ brāhmaṇasya*). Then (again) they proclaim (the portions of) the odana: the brahman priest and the sacrificer get one portion in common, the sūta and the grāmaṇī receive different portions, as also the kṣattṛ and the saṃgrahitṛ. In the house of the loser the kṣattṛ prepares the odana".[25]

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[20] *caturo nirūhaṃś, catuḥśatam akṣān apisṛjet*. Are we to infer that each player had his stock from which he took dice to throw on the dicing ground? (cf. de Vreese's observations, *art. cit.*, on the *durodara-* in the epic game).

[21] Cf. MS. 4,4,6;57:12ff.

[22] The square, triangular, etc. dice may perhaps be related to the kārṣāpaṇas, the punched coins, on which see Held, *o.c.*, pp. 257–64. The kārṣāpaṇas are, in Held's opinion, "emblems with which the gambler staked his dignity, in a deeper sense himself"; in like manner the special dice mentioned here might be considered emblems of the four gamblers (or the varṇas which they represent).

[23] The *govyaccha-* is probably identical with the cow slaughterer in the ratnīnāṃ havīṃṣi (*govikarta-*). Cf. KS. 15,4; Macdonell-Keith, *V.I.*, II, p. 335. Bhavasvāmin, however, renders it by *godhyakṣa-*, supervisor of the cows.

[24] Or: "he throws back the die that does not fit in", as the Dvaidhasūtra has it; the formula is then applied to the throwing back (*yenāsyānupapannaṃ syāt, taṃ tatrāpisṛjed, diśo 'bhyayam rājābhūd iti*). Apparently the DS. refers to a game with marked dice.

Kātyāyana: "He (the adhvaryu, who before has made the ājya offering on the dicing ground, or the akṣavāpa?) throws the dice on the dicing ground, with the words: "Consecrated with the svāhā call, compete with the rays of the sun, in order that this king may be the centre of his kinsmen (*sajāta-*)." Then he says: "Play for (the parts of) the cow." He arranges the kṛta play for the king and the others. He gives the losing combination (kali) to the kinsman (*sajāta-*). (The acolytes of the adhvaryu) fetch a cow and beat her. The two oxen that drew the car with the house fire of the sacrificer (to the north of the āhavanīya fire, at the time of the chariot drive) are to be given as dakṣiṇā.

The texts deal only with the crucial moments of the game: the episodes of the 104 dice and the 5 dice. The intervening stages are probably passed over silently. In general, however, we may conclude that the point of the game consisted in making certain numerical combinations, based on the numbers four and five, with unmarked dice. For the understanding of the nature of this play with numbers Held, in his study of the Mahābhārata, has made useful remarks, where he stresses the relation between the four or five ayas or numerical combinations of the dice and the points of the compass.[26] This relation is clearly borne out by the episode of the five dice.[27] In another connection TS. 4, 3, 3 classifying the points of the compass with the seasons, the deities, the stomas, the ayas etc., puts kṛta in relation with the eastern quarter, tretā with the southern quarter, dvāpara with the western quarter, āskanda with the northern quarter and abhibhū (or kali) with the zenith.[28] Speaking about a series of four ayas

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[25] According to Baudh. the odana is not eaten by the gamblers, who have staked and won portions of it in the game, but is given to the brahman (12,16:110.2).

[26] Held, *o.c.*, p. 265 ff. The term *aya-*, literally "the course", is the "course which the dice take along the points of the compass".

[27] Cf. ŚB. 5,4,4,6.

[28] Cf. MS. 2,7,20; KS. 39,7 MS. combines abhibhava with the northern quarter and

– kali, dvāpara, tretā and kṛta – the comm. on Hir. 3, 12 (p. 321) declares that, when the division of the number of dice by four terminates, it is kṛta, while kali, dvāpara and tretā mean that there is a remainder of one, two or three dice respectively.[29] Now, according to Held's attractive theory, the dice are segregated one by one to the points of the compass, following a circular motion from the north through west and south to the east, when one reckons with four ayas and compass points, or through the east to the centre (zenith) in the case of five ayas and compass points; and so on till all the dice are segregated. Thus the expression "*kṛtaṃ vicinoti*" means "to finish at the segregation of the akṣas to the four points of the compass, at kṛta" (sc. the east).[30] Perhaps this gives us also the proper perspective of Baudh.'s prescript of putting the dice down in such a way that they touch each other at the edges: the dice are probably arranged in a certain geometrical pattern according to the points of the compass. Thus the purpose of the game seems to lie in separating a number of dice and in establishing in visible form the concordance of this number with the regions of the universe. All seems to depend on the skill of the player in computing[31] at a glance the number of dice to be separated, taking at the same time into account the number of dice to be left for his adversaries.[32]

The auspicious names (*sumaṅgalanāmāni*)

When the king has gained his victory in the game of dice,[33] he addresses three of the ratnins, the samgrahītṛ, the bhāgadugha and the kṣattṛ, with the auspicious names, respectively: "O thou of good fame" (*suśloka-*), "O thou of good auspices" (*sumaṅgala-*), "O true king" (*satyarājan-*).

āskanda with the zenith. Abhibhū seems to be equivalent to the better known aya kali: cf. ŚB. 5,4,4,6 and Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 41.

[29] Cf. Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 54.

[30] Caland, *art. cit.*, takes *vicinoti* to mean: separating dice from the stock. In the opinion of the present writer, however, the separating from the stock is only the first phase of the game, to which verbs like *apachid-*, *avoh-*, *nirūh-* are applied; *vicinoti* refers to the second phase, the segregation to the points of the compass, Thus, for instance, in the agnyādheya according to Mānava 104 dice are strewn on the dicing ground from which the adhvaryu takes 100 dice and hands them to the sacrificer, who then segregates them, ending up at kṛta (*kṛtaṃ vicinoti*; Mān. ŚS. 1,4,4,13).

[31] On the computing skill in the game of dice see Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 51.

[32] It is also possible that the player strews back his dice or hands them to the next player who then has to try his luck (cf. Hir. 6,17 (p. 530) *teṣu*, sc. *akṣeṣu*, *kṛtaṃ vijitya sabhāsadbhyaḥ prayacchati*). Doubtless there were several different ways to play the ritual game. Thus Baudh. 2,9 describes a much simpler game of dice (see Caland, *Abh.f.d.K.d.M.*, XII, 1, p. 17).

[33] The moment according to TS., TB., MS., followed by Āp. and Hir.; Baudh. as well as the WhYV. connects this ceremony with the brahman proclamation.

Baudh. makes the thus addressed answer with: "Thou, O king, art of good fame," etc.

The TS. gives three names (MS. and KS. do not mention them), but Baudh. speaks of seven, without, however, specifying them. The WhYV. gives as auspicious names: much working, better working, more working (*bahukāra-*, *śreyaskāra-*, *bhūyaskāra-*). It seems that Kāty. makes the brahman address the king with these names, after he has the fifth time answered the king with: "thou art brahman". According to the comm., however, it is the king, who calls out in this way to one of his men.

ANNOTATIONS

The unction, enthronement and dicing rites seem to be closely linked up with each other.

The unction in the rājasūya does not require the use of the throne; on the other hand, however, the enthronement is in most cases associated with an unction: in the agnicayana, the vājapeya, the sautrāmaṇī, the sacrificer is anointed while sitting on a chair (a throne),[34] as is also the case at the unctions described in the 8th book of the AB. This seems to me to be the original state of things in the rājasūya. In the course of development and elaboration probably two rites, unction on a tiger skin and enthronement-cum-unction, were united in the rājasūya. The unction on a tiger skin being fixed at an earlier moment, separated from the enthronement by the chariot drive, made the unction at the enthronement superfluous. The four apasrāvas still bear witness to the original state of things: they will have been intended to carry away the powerful unction waters streaming down from the anointed. Other facts to support the thesis of the original connection of the enthronement with the unction may be cited. Thus the Śunaḥśepa legend recited for the enthroned king seems originally to be adjoined to the unction: AB. 7, 18, 11 explicitly states that the legend is recited to the "anointed king" and according to the WhYV. the recitation is inserted after the unction; the rites with the rest of the unction water, at which the names of the king and the heir apparent are interchanged and which have their logical place after the unction, are, however, according to the MS.[35] performed at the end of the enthronement and dicing rites; a four feet wide field is to be given to the brahman priest after the game of dice, but AB. 8, 20, 2 stipulates that such a gift be given to the priest who anoints the king: in this way we can also account for Hir., according to whom the unction may also be performed after the game, viz. when the king is enthroned. The formula: "Varuṇa ... has set himself down in his dwelling places" (*pastyāsu*, often explained as the waters, Varuṇa's element), which formula is also used in the mahābhiṣeka,[36] when the king is seated on his throne on the point of being anointed, in this light takes on its proper relief: the king, identified with Varuṇa, sitting in the midst of the cosmic waters represented by the unction fluid.

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[34] Cf. Āp. ŚS. 17,19,5;18,6,4;19,9,11.

[35] MS. 4,4,6; cf. Vār. ŚS. 3,3,3,37, also Mānava. Āp. gives this moment as an alternative (18,19,9).

The association of the enthronement with the game of dice seems more than accidental, when taking into account that the Varuṇa formula is also applied in the preparation of the dicing ground at the occasion of kindling the fire in the assembly hall (*sabhā-*).[37] We may in my opinion even go further: this formula is in the TS. only recorded in the rājasūya chapter and its application to the sabhā ritual seems rather hollow compared to its use in the enthronement. The royal ritual seems to be the more original of the two. It may be supposed that there was at the origin a block of royal rites: enthronement, unction and dicing to be performed in the assembly hall (or combined with rites in such a hall), which was built for the purpose and where a fire was kindled. The royal dicing pavilion still shows a trace of its connection with the fire where the WhYV. prescribes that the dicing ground and consequently the pavilion should communicate with the *pūrvāgni-*. The term *pūrvāgni-* is not quite clear[38] – the comm. on Kāty. explains it as the first fire of the householder or the gārhapatya – but it seems to me that it is originally the old fire which is to be renewed, as well as cosmos and kingship, at the turn of the year;[39] this rite, if my supposition is correct, was superseded by the development of the agnyādheya rites and became obsolete, leaving the term *pūrvāgni-* to be preserved as a fossil in the rājasūya.[40]

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[36] AB. 8,13,1;18,1.

[37] Āp. 5,19,2.

[38] For this term cf. ŚB. 13,2,2,3; TB. 3,8,23,1–2, where the hornless he-goat for Agni, which is attached in front of the sacrificial horse in the aśvamedha, is compared to the *pūrvāgni-*. Sāyaṇa ad TB. explains it as the āhavanīya fire. Cf. also Baudh. 18,8:350.7; 18,16:361.8; 18,40:391.5, where a fire called *pūrvāgni-* is connected with the rites on the first day of some savas. It is mentioned together with the gārhapatya and (the fires in) the sacrificial hut in AV. 5,31,5.

[39] For the renewal of the fire, cf. Oldenberg, *R.d.V.*, 351 f.; Hillebrandt, *V.M.*, I, 92. Also the above iṣṭis for (Agni) Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa. Perhaps there is a relation between the chariot drive, which has a renewing function and the *pūrvāgni-* moved up to the north of the āhavanīya fire and thus within the circle described by the chariot. This interpretation of the *pūrvāgni-* is not necessarily contrary to its being the house fire. Cf. e.g. TS. 5,2,4,1 dealing with the union of the old fire (*yaś ca purāgniḥ*) with the (new) fire in the firepot, at the agnicayana; the old fire is in this case the gārhapatya fire, the śrauta counterpart of the house fire.

The throne now claims attention. In the mantras the throne is addressed as the navel and the womb of kingship.[41] The words: "you are soft, a pleasant seat", are also addressed to the vedi in the new and full moon sacrifices;[42] as is well-known the vedi represents the womb of the sacrifice.[43] The elements of the throne are identified with the elements of the ritual: metres, sāmans, ṛc's, yajuṣ's, etc., while Prajāpati, Bṛhaspati, Soma, and Varuṇa are the legs of the throne. Not only the sacrifice, out of which the sacrificer is born as is often stated, lends its elements to form the throne; the whole cosmos is represented in it. Thus the throne is the proper cosmic birthplace of the king.[44]

The place of the throne birthplace on an elevation from which four gutters (*apasrāva-*) originate, has in my opinion a cosmological significance: the throne represents the centre, the navel of the earth; from this navel originate the four streams dividing the world in four quadrants. Though in the Vedic texts the number of the great world streams is mostly seven, mention is also made of four streams.[45] The fact that the throne, according to Hir., is placed on an elevation suggests the idea of the central mountain, so prominent in Hindu cosmology and in the religions of greater India. The throne combines the notions of the navel and birthplace of the world and the king with those of the central mountain.[46]

In the symbolism of the throne enters yet another element. The enthronement in the Vedic ritual is mostly combined with an unction, and in the rājasūya this has probably also been the case. The throne is practically equivalent to Varuṇa's watery residence. It may be considered the store and source of the waters, the life-giving fluid, brought to the earth by means of the four apasrāvas.[47] It is the centre, from whence their circulation through the universe is put in motion at the time of the unction. The cosmic rotation, which has its pivot in the throne and which was already met with before in the unction ritual will be seen also to be expressed by the rites centred round the throne.

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[40] This case may be cited as an instance of the development of the Vedic ritual through the extension and systematization of the royal rites. In the course of this process the king was generalized into a common sacrificer and finally the royal rites were incorporated in the extended and elaborated Soma ritual, which itself represents a development from the royal ritual.

[41] Cf. TB. 1,7,10,2; ŚB. 5,4,4,3–4.

[42] Hillebrandt, *N.V.O.*, p. 55.

[43] Cf. Johansson, *Dhiṣaṇā*, p. 52.

[44] For a similar conception of the throne in Egypt, where the throne was considered the ruler's mother, cf. H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), p. 43f.

[45] Cf. RV. 1,62,4. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951), ch. VII, also p. 335f. Lüders opines "dass in der Vedischen Vorstellung von den vier Weltflüssen der Keim zu der merkwürdigen Dvīpa-theorie des Mittelalters liegt". Cf. also W. Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder* (Bonn-Leipzig, 1920), pp. 11f., 15ff.

[46] The intimate connection of the throne with the central mountain and the axis mundi has been clearly demonstated by Miss J. Auboyer (*Le Trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris, 1949, pp. 74–104). On the navel concept, cf. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, ch. XI.

Sitting on the throne the king is proclaimed brahman in a dialogue with each of the four priests who sit round him at the four quarters. In this ceremony the king is manifested as the power that pervades and connects the discontinuous universe. He alternately disperses this brahman power to the four quarters when addressing each of the priests with "O brahman," and reabsorbs, reintegrates this power and thereby the whole universe (exemplified by the quarters and the gods connected with them) when the priests answer the king "thou art brahman". The king is the centre of the rhythmical flux and reflux of the cosmos.[48] In other connections we met with similar ideas and observed there that they converge with the idea of birth. This is also here the case. In the WhYV., the king is proclaimed a fifth time by the brahman priest; and after what has been said about the symbolism of numbers it may be clear that this fifth time bears out the notions of encompassing, integrating the four dispersed brahman powers, the quarters, the gods, his rise above them as well as his birth from them.[49] He is, so to say, put together from the four quarters as the gods are said to bring together the embryo.[50] The king is born as brahman in the centre, the zenith of the universe, from the dispersed brahman. In this respect the reference to Vena in the first of the stanzas that, according to the WhYV., accompany the preparation of the dicing ground, does not seem to be without interest. This verse, and the whole of the hymn from which it is taken (RV. 10, 123), identifies Soma with the sungod and describes the pressing of the Soma in solar terms or rather as the sun's rising; Vena is at once Soma and the seer inspired by the Soma. The imagery of this hymn, speaking about the birth of Soma and the sun's rising, fits in well with the scene of the brahman proclamation. The king, proclaimed brahman by the brahmins at his birth, can well be compared to Vena–Soma–the sun licked by the priests (*vipra-*) at his birth or rising. This stands out even more clearly when considering what AV. 4, 1 says about Vena: "the brahman that was first born of old (or in the east, *purastāt*), Vena hath unclosed from the well-shining edge" (v. 1), and: "he bore up the brahman from the midst of the brahman; downward, upward, he set forth unto the svadhās" (v. 3). The king, proclaimed brahman in the midst of the four brahmins, can be considered the living representation of the central brahman, unclosed at its birth and borne up from the midst of the brahmins.

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[47] This view of the throne is perfectly in keeping with the central mountain aspect. The mountains in general are considered stores of water, sources of rain etc.; for materials cf. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 73ff.

[48] The same idea is conveyed by the rite of the auspicious names.

[49] At the fifth turn of the dialogue no god is mentioned as at the previous four turns. Through this *anirukta-* the brahman priest lays boundless power in the king, as is asserted by ŚB. 5,4,4,13. This assertion falls in line with the idea of encompassing the whole.

[50] AV. 1,11,2.

The dialogue in which the king is successively by each of the brahmins declared to be the brahman par excellence, begins in the east and moves in a sunwise rotatory order round the king. This recalls the procedure followed at the unction and seems to express the regenerating rotation of the cosmic forces.[51] The passing of the sacrificial sword is another example of the rotation of the cosmic powers. The brahman, the purohita or the adhvaryu, sitting "below the king" as BĀU. 1, 4, 11 has it, passes the sword up to the king on his throne; the latter passes it down again to the ratnins till it reaches the akṣavāpa, who works the earth with it. It is significant that the sword is called a *vajra-*, the instrument connected with the circulation of the regenerating powers throughout the universe.[52] In the description of the dicing game the role of the rotatory movement through the points of the compass has already been mentioned. The game certainly has a cosmological meaning; Varuṇa's ordering activity in the universe is compared to the putting down of the akṣas by the player.[53] The rotatory movement, with which the dice are segregated to the points of the compass, brings them in consonance with the cosmic order, if the number of dice coïncides with the points of the compass. In this way the dice exemplify the creation of order among the dispersed and discontinuous elements of the universe. In this respect it is tempting to compare the game of dice to the brahmodya;[53a] in both the brahmodya and the game the purpose can be defined as seizing the principle that connects and encompasses the discontinuous. In the game this principle is made palpable by the right number of dice, the number five, the *abhibhū-*, for this is the number connecting the quarters, the world ages,[54] the gods connected with the quarters, the varṇas represented by the players together with the king. It is no accident that according to the WhYV. the five dice are given to the king just before the brahman proclamation. Clearly there is a parallel between the two rites: in the rotatory dialogue the king is identified with the brahman, the connecting and encompassing power par excellence; in the mantra with which the five dice are handed to him he is identified with the *abhibhū-*, with which the quarters must be in accordance.[55] The WhYV. applies to the preparation of the dicing ground and the erection of the pavilion the two verses which are used in the Soma ritual for drawing the śukra and the manthin cup. These two cups are identified with the sun and the moon, the eyes of Prajāpati,[56] and the rites connected with the two cups clearly represent the rotation through the universe of these two asterisms and the corresponding circulation of the fertility powers. The cups are brought, while covered, from the west to the east side of the āhavanīya fire, passing resp. by the north and south side of the fire; this act is put on a par with the invisible course of sun and moon from west to east and with the engendering of offspring. On the east side the cups are offered by the priests, who have turned their faces westward; herewith the appearance of sun and moon and the birth of offspring are stated to correspond.[57] It seems reasonable to assume that this symbolism is also the background of the hall and the dicing ground.[58] They may be taken to represent the macrocosmos; the king is the central pillar; the engendering rotatory movement, suggested in the building of the hall, is represented by the dice.[59]

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[51] In this connection we may also recall the giratory movement of the central mountain functioning as a churning stick in the cosmogonic myth of the Churning of the Ocean. This giratory motion is connected in the myth with the ascension along the axis mundi to the sky, cf. Auboyer, *o.c.*, 98.

[52] Cp. Chapter: The Chariot drive, Annotations.

[53] AV. 4,16,5, *akṣān iva śvaghnī niminoti tāni* (sc. *vratāni*?) (Paippalāda: *akṣān na śvaghnī bhuvanā mamīte*). Roth (Petrograd Dict.). emends *niminoti* to *vicinoti*, which, in my opinion, would suit better the dicing metaphor.

[53a] On the brahmodya, cf. L. Renou-L. Silburn, "Sur la notion de *brahman*", *JA*, 237 (1949), p. 22-37.

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[54] Bhāskara, commenting on TB. 1,7,10,5, takes the five dice to represent the four world periods sharing their names with the ayas and forming together a mahāyuga; the fifth die represents the whole mahāyuga. Thus the king is made invincible at all times, according to Bh.'s explanation.

[55] VS., 10,28a: *abhibhūr asy, etās te pañca diśaḥ kalpantām.* The word *abhibhū-* might be translated with encompassing, as also Weber does in the translation of this mantra.

[56] ŚB. 4,2,1,1; MS. 4,6,3:80.14; cf. also TS. 6,4,10,2–3.

[57] ŚB. 4,2,1,18; MS. 4,6,3:81.20f.; TS. 6,4,10,3–4. Cf. CH. no. 146. When moved round the āhavanīya the two cups are addressed with: "as a male engendering offspring go round" and "engendering people with good offspring go round". The idea of engendering by rotation is possibly also implied by the term *manthin-*, referring to churning.

[58] The śukra and manthin grahas are put in relation to kingship in connection with a magical rite to restore an exiled king; cf. Āp. 12,15,2.

[59] The dice are called *rāṣṭrabhṛt-*, "bearers of the kingdom" AV. 7,109,6. Cf. also TS. 3,4,8,2.

In connection with the movement of the game we must [illegible] account that, as far as is known about the classification of the [illegible] points of the compass, this movement is counter sun wise, the [illegible] associated with death. The idea of death is always present [illegible] cration rites. In order to be reborn the consecrated has [illegible] death just as the sun and the moon have to pass invisibly [illegible] where they reappear. In this respect the dicing pavilion [illegible] to the consecration hut, which is considered the womb [illegible] where he is to behave as if dead. This demoniacal aspect [illegible] the śukra-and-manthin rite: the two cups are drawn [illegible] Śaṇḍa and Marka[61] who are put off – compare the [illegible] bryonic envelopes –, and offered to Indra, which [illegible] above, equated with the birth of offspring. [illegible] the hall may be considered a cosmogonical [illegible] the recreation of the universe and the birth of the [illegible] corroborated by the fact that the game of dice [illegible] passing of the old into the new year. [illegible] festivities, the New Year festival [illegible] also interesting that this festival is also [illegible] Rāma's ascension to the throne [illegible] cension of king Vikrama [illegible] Siam gambling is indulged in on the [illegible] New Year celebrations.[63] [illegible] with a high ecclasiastic dressed [illegible] Year festival.[64]

The birth of the king is clearly expressed by the symbolism of numbers in the game. In the case of the five dice, which according to the [illegible] are put on a par with the regions of space, only compare what has been said on account of the [illegible] ceremonial, with which the game of dice offers a striking parallel.[65] The episode of the 104 dice shows the same pattern. In the [illegible] 100 dice are mentioned, which symbolize

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[60] MS. 3,6,7:68.10. Cf. also S. Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 104.

[61] Hillebrandt (*V.M.*, I, p. [illegible]): Marka = av. *mahrka*, death.

[62] Cf. B. A. Gupte, *Hindu holidays and ceremonies* (Calcutta, [illegible]), pp. [illegible]; J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie*, II, 84; 89; 151f.

[63] ERE, V, 885b; 886a.

[64] R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (The Hague, 1956), p. 508f.

[65] The dicing ground is conceived of as a sacrificial fire; the dice are the coals (ŚB. 5,4,4,23; cf. also RV. 10,34,9). Libations are made on the dicing ground (Āp. ŚS. 5,9,2; Bhāradvāja ŚS. 4,13). It is adressed as Agni (VS. 10,29a). In the [illegible] the fire is pushed to the points of the compass, just as the dice are.

totality: the 100 āyus's, the 100 vīryas of man.[66] The rājasūya adds to this totality four dice; these four dice provide the rest or extra element forming the top of and encompassing the whole totality. It may well be that the expression *udbhinnam rājñaḥ* applies especially to these four dice; Hir. at least actually applies the expression to the four dice, when they are pushed apart. They seem to me to be identical with the king himself, just as he is, in the episode of the five dice, identified with the central aya, *abhibhū-* (or *akṣarājan-*, the king of dice).

The king is brought forth from the dice. In this respect the term *udbhinnam* deserves attention. The root *udbhid-* seems to be linked up with the idea of birth as well as with victory. TB. 2, 6, 17, 1 clearly demonstrates this connotation: "hotṛ, celebrate the pure Tanūnapāt, the offshoot (*udbhid-*) that Aditi conceived". Also the mantra TĀ. 6, 10, 2 : "as you, O plant, burst forth (*udbhinatsi*) from the earth, thus these people may burst forth (*udbhindantu*) through fame and glory and brahman splendour". To assess the value of the root *udbhid-* in this mantra it must be taken into account that this mantra is used in the śāntikarman, when the relatives of the deceased emerge from the state of impurity and return home,[67] a ritual having some likeness to the dīkṣā and suggestive of rebirth (of the relatives from their state of impurity). *Udbhid-* is also the name of an ekāha; one, who wants offspring and cattle may sacrifice with the *udbhid-* and *vālabhid-* ekāhas.[68] The PB. asserts that by means of these two rituals Bṛhaspati set free the cows and the riches of the Asuras, which were covered by a stone and wrapped in darkness. Of the *udbhid-* it is also said that by means of it Prajāpati burst forth from these worlds; it is *kṛtastoma-*, for the bursting forth is effected by kṛta.[69] In this last instance the root *udbhid-* can be seen as a technical term of the game of dice and at the same time it is related to cosmogonical and birth representations.[70]

Turning attention to the stake of the game we meet again the ideas of birth, cosmogony and integration. The cow that is staked is closely akin to, if not identical with, the cosmogonical cow Virāj, who by stepping out five times established the five fires and then went up in the sky to become the constellation Rohiṇī.[71] In the AV.[72] Virāj is extolled as a creative principle and a universal mother goddess having Indra as her calf; RV. 10, 90, 5 makes her the daughter of Puruṣa who again is born from her. ChUp. 4, 3, 8 equates this Virāj with the pooled stakes in the game, which are won by the kṛta combination. The odana, which substitutes the cow, is connected with similar ideas. By preparing an odana and eating the remainder of it Aditi became pregnant and gave birth to the Ādityas;[73] it is identified with the semen;[74] also with Prajāpati.[75] In the AV. it is extolled as the way leading to heaven, penetrating the two hemispheres of the universe[76] (cp. Virāj ascending to the sky). The gamesters have each a share in these important life-giving cosmological entities; the shares they stake in the game. The sacrificer by becoming the *abhibhū-*, by "bursting forth" wins and unites all the shares for himself, according to the rule that the highest aya wins the stakes of the lower ayas.[77] The passage of the ChUp. cited above speaks of the ten parts of the stake that is won by the kṛta combination and puts them in relation to the five macrocosmic powers: wind, fire, sun, moon, water, and the five powers of the human microcosmos: breath, voice, eye, ear, thought. Thus the winner of kṛta unites and integrates the totality of the universe.[78] The king, as the pivotal agency absorbing and releasing the universe, can also be recognized in the dicing game as prescribed in Kauś.'s account of the unction.[79] In the game he wins all the property from his subjects. Then ensues a dialogue with a vaiśya asking for the restitution of the subjects' property. In his answer the king grants the restitution successively to the brahmins, the kṣatriyas and the vaiśyas, adding: "May the law rule in my country." This addition seems the keynote of the ceremony: the king as the pivot of universal flux and reflux emits the cosmic order.

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[66] MS. 1,6,11:104.5.

[67] W. Caland, *Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche* (Amsterdam, 1896), no. 67.

[68] JB. 2, 89; PB. 19,7,1.

[69] PB. 16,16,2–3: *etena vai Prājapatir eṣāṃ lokānām udabhinat* (Sāyaṇa takes this to mean that P. by means of the *udbhid-* created the worlds (*kṛtastomo vā eṣa, udbhinnaṃ hy eva kṛtasya*). *Kṛtastoma-*, made up of four sorts of stomas, cf. TB. 1,5,11,1; ŚB. 13,3,2,1.

[70] Caland (ad Āp. 18,19,5) takes *udbhinnam* as 'beinahe gleichwertig mit *jitam*'. The idea of victory is however closely connected with those of procreation and birth, as e.g. in RV. 10,45,10d: *ujjātena bkinadad ujjanitvaiḥ*, where I am tempted to translate: "may he put forth new shoots through offspring, born and still to be born".

Now it is a peculiar trait that, except in so far as he is presented with the five dice, the king seems to take no part in the game, at least according to the MS., where only the four representatives of the varṇas engage in the game. This fact suggests to me the interpretation that the real stake of the game is the king himself. It is the king himself who is to be "won", produced by the gambling; he is the regulating and connecting principle of the quinquepartite universe, the embodiment of the cosmic order that "bursts forth" from the dice.[80]

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[71] TB. 1,1,10.

[72] AV. 8,9–10.Cf. J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 67f.; 187.

[73] TS. 6,5,6,1; AV. 11,1,1.

[74] TB. 3,8,2,4; ŚB. 13,1,1,4.

[75] TB. 3,8,2,3; 3, 9,18,2; ŚB. 13,3,5,7.

[76] AV. 11,1,20; 12,3,5.

[77] Cf. Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 61.

[78] We may connect these two series of five powers expressing the totality of the universe with the classification system based on the number five, already noted when dealing with the five dice.

[79] Kauś. 17, 17–19.

Summarizing this short investigation it may be concluded that in the enthronement-dicing-game complex the king is born in the centre of the universe, binding together its dispersed elements in his person and regulating their alternating centrifugal and centripetal rotation.

A few words need still be said about the beating of the king. This ceremony is enjoined only by the WhYV., where it is, however, treated rather summarily. The mantra, which may, as an alternative to a silent performance, accompany the beating, is only recorded by Kāty.; the ŚB. mentions only the silent beating and concisely states that the rite is intended to lead the king "beyond the being beaten".[81] Elsewhere beating is well-known in fertility rites to stimulate the productive powers[82] or as a"rite de passage"[83] or in driving out maleficent demons.[84] All of these interpretations fit in the same scheme: at the critical moments in the life of the individual as well as of the group, e.g. at the turn of the year the productive powers must be stimulated, renewed, a new birth takes place and the maleficent demons – corresponding as has been seen before with the embryonic covers – must be driven off. In this light the beating of the king, who is about to be born at the turn of the year, becomes clear.[85]

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[80] If I understand well Baudh.'s text the shares proclaimed at the the two turns of the game amount to nine. Perhaps we may interpret this number as implying an unexpressed tenth produced out of the nine and integrating tehm. This tenth then might be the king himself produced out of the cosmogonical odana, which is later on served to the brahman priest: the king is born out of the nine shares, which are subsequently disposed of, viz. placed back, in the womb of kingship, the brahman.

[81] Weber considers the ceremony characteristic of the priestly supremacy and consequently of later origin, but leaves also the possibility open that it is "eine gute, alte, volksthümliche Sitte", akin to the "Ritterschlag". He also mentions in this connection the beating of the bridegroom (cf. *Ind. Stud.*, V, 300).

[82] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, IX, 272; in rainmaking I, 257f; Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 72; *Aberglauben*, VII, 1107ff.; J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie*, Index s.v. schlagen; on beating in the Lupercalia, Warde-Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 54; 479.

[83] *Aberglauben*, VII, 1107ff.; v. d. Leeuw, *La Religion*, p. 190.

[84] Frazer, *o.c.*, IX, 259ff.

[85] Cf. the beating of the king by the chief priest of Marduk at the Babylonian New Year festival; H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), p. 320. Cf. also the beating of the king of May in German folklore (W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I, pp. 354, 365f.; *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 14f.).

The king seated in the womb of royalty (the throne) with the five dice, which on account of their counter sun wise movement are suggestive of death, in his hand is clearly in a dubious situation. At this critical moment his safe birth is furthered by beating him with wooden sticks. The *pāpman-*, correlating with the covers of the embryo, is beaten away and he is led beyond death, as the mantra says.

XVIII

RECITATION OF THE ŚUNAḤŚEPA LEGEND [1]

TB. 1,7,10,6; AB. 7,13–18;
Baudh. 12,15–16:109.10–110.1; Āp. 18,19,10–14; Hir. 13,6,35–38; Kāty. 15,6,1–7;
Āśv. 9,4,9–16; Śāṅkh. 15,17–27;
Weber: 52f., 107f., 120f., 128.

After the enthronement and the connected rites have been performed the legend is recited, which relates the miraculous release of the brahmin Śunaḥśepa from the sacrificial post, to which he was already tied in order to be immolated, and king Hariścandra's simultaneous release from Varuṇa's bonds. Baudh. specifies that the legend is to be recited in the interval after the game of dice – the calling of the auspicious names has already taken place before the game – when the odana is being cooked by the kṣattṛ in the house of the loser.[2] The legend is recited by the hotṛ, while the adhvaryu makes the "answers"[3]: *oṃ* after an ṛc stanza and *tathā* after a gāthā (stanza not belonging to the saṃhitās).

In the text of the legend more than a hundred, or more than a thousand according to Āp. 1, 19, 10, ṛc stanzas and gāthās are said to be assembled.[4] A version of a thousand or more ṛc stanzas and gāthās, however, is not known. Perhaps Āp. points to a possibility to extend the number by such artifices as are usual in the technique of the śastra.

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[1] The legend is recorded in AB. 7,13–18 and Śāṅkh. 15,17–27. For the sake of brevity I refer to the translations of this legend: R. Roth, *Indische Studien*, I, 457ff.; II, 112ff.; F. Streiter, *De Sunahsepo* (Berlin, 1861); W. H. Robinson, *The golden legend of India* (London, 1911); A. B. Keith, "The Ṛg-Veda Brāhmaṇas", *HOS*, 25, pp. 299 ff.

[2] According to Kāty. the recitation is inserted in the unction. Mānava places it after the libations connected with the unharnessing of the horses, which according to his version follow the enthronement, before the game of dice.

[3] *pratigara-*, interjection made by the adhvaryu in the pauses of the śastra, cf. e.g. CH. no. 152. Baudh. mentions four types of answers: *oṃ hotar*, *tathā hotar*, *satyaṃ hotar*, *arātsma hotar*, but gives no details about their use.

[4] There are 97 ṛcs and 31 gāthās. The ṛcs are those of the cycle traditionally ascribed to Śunaḥśepa, RV. 1,24–30. As to the number, cf. AB. 7,18,10, where the Śunaḥśepa legend is said to contain: *paraṛkśatagātha-*: this expression is doubtful, one would expect *ṛkgāthaśatapara-*. Sāyaṇa explains the expression as "containing, beside 100 ṛcs, (31) gāthas."

While reciting the hotṛ is sitting on a cushion or mat (*kaśipu-*) worked with gold; the adhvaryu is standing or sitting on two grass bundles (*kūrca-*)[5]. According to Āśvalāyana[6] the sacrificer is also seated on a cushion worked with gold at the south side of the āhavanīya fire – the regular place of the sacrificer[7] – surrounded by his sons and ministers.

ANNOTATIONS

The legend of Śunaḥśepa has attracted the attention of several scholars[8] recently joined by F. Weller,[9] whose critical analysis of the two recensions of the legend touches the present investigation where the learned author concludes: "die ganze Geschichte kann . . . von Haus aus nichts mit der Königsweihe zu schaffen haben". Though it may be conceded that the legend developed outside the rājasūya,[10] the problem, on what grounds it became integrated in the rājasūya, remains. This problem can be elucidated by what we have already learned about this sacrifice, which is originally not an investiture of the king, but a yearly recurring festival by which the regeneration of the powers of fertility and the renewal of the universe are effected. The festival centres round the king whose rebirth is equivalent with the universal regeneration and renewal. Now the chief interest of the legend lies in the birth of a son, conceived of as a real rebirth of the father. Thus Nārada in the introductory verses of the legend teaches to king Hariścandra that: "the husband enters as an embryo his wife, (who becomes) his mother; having become new again in her he is born in the tenth month".[11] Further the recitation of the legend is recommended for one who wishes for a son.[12] It is also significant that the elements which according to Weller have accreted to the story – Śunaḥśepa's adoption by Viśvamitra and the heritage question – also concern the father-son relation. Viewed in this light the rājasūya and the legend appear to have their object in common and their connection becomes quite natural.

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[5] Perhaps we have to understand here a tabouret as in Kāty. 20,2,21; cf. Renou, *VRV*, p. 58, and Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, p. 39.

[6] Āśv. 9,3,9.

[7] According to Baudh. the unction is also performed at this place; Vārāha places here the throne in the enthronement rite.

[8] Besides the scholars already cited, Max Müller, *History of ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 408ff, 573ff.; A. Weber, *ZDMG*, 18, p. 262ff.; A.B. Keith, *JRAS*, 1911, p. 988f.; G. Dumézil, *Flamen-Brahman* (Paris, 1935), pp. 13–42, 97–112.

[9] F. Weller, "Die Legende von Śunaḥśepa", *Verh. Sächs. Ak. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 102,2 (Berlin, 1956).

[10] The passage, where it is said that Varuṇa proclaimed the rājasūya sacrifice to Hariścandra, may indeed be due to a later redaction. The rājasūya is nowhere else mentioned in the AB., which speaks only of abhiṣeka.

[11] AB. 7,13,9; cf. also Mānava DhŚ. 9,8. In this connection also note the phallic connotation of the names of Śunaḥśepa and his brothers.

[12] AB. 7,18,16.

Some remarks may still be useful for the understanding of the sacrifice imposed on king Hariścandra and its relation to the royal ritual. Hariścandra was a childless king, which is almost a contradictio in terminis or at least synonymous with a serious hampering of the course of the universe. "He alone is king, who propagates offspring", as the ŚB. says.[13] In this predicament Varuṇa intervenes by granting Hariścandra a son. Natural birth alone is, according to a current doctrine of the ritual texts, not enough; it must be followed up by the birth out of the sacrifice, out of brahman.[14] In another connection it is stated that the rājanya is born fettered; the fetters must be removed by the ritual of a certain iṣṭi.[15] In my opinion this removal of the ties with which the rājanya is fettered at birth amounts to a second birth. These ties have their correspondence in the legend in the illness – illness is often represented in the form of ties[16] – with which Hariścandra is cursed by Varuṇa and which is put on a par with the fetters binding Śunaḥśepa to the sacrificial post: the illness is cured at the very same moment that Śunaḥśepa's fetters fall off.[17] Now when Śunaḥśepa's fetters fall off, he is in reality reborn as may be seen from the fact that he takes another name, enters another clan. Thus Hariścandra and Śunaḥśepa are ritually reborn through the sacrifice, through the brahman power extant in the ṛc stanzas recited by Śunaḥśepa.[18] Against this background it becomes clear why a brahmin should act as the sacrificial victim: he represents the brahman sacrifice out of which the sacrificer is reborn.[19] This conception of the sacrificial victim seems to me to be clearly demonstrated by the myth of Manu, the prototype of the sacrificer, immolating his own wife:[20] through this sacrifice he propagates himself, the wife being the womb of rebirth of the husband.[21]

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[13] ŚB. 9,4,1,5.

[14] ŚB. 3,2,1,40.; JB. I, 259; JUB. 3,14,8. Cf. also MS. 3,6,7: 68.16.

[15] TS. 2,4,13; KS. 11,4:148.5–10; MS. 2, 1,12:13.18–14.7. Cf. Caland, *Wunschopfer*, no. 96.

[16] Cf. AV. 2,33 and its ritual application, Kauś. 27,27. From the mantra TS. 3,1,4k it appears that the noose with which the victim is bound is conceived of as a bond tying the sacrificer himself.

[17] In this connection it may be worthwhile to note an allusion to the sunrise – the macrocosmic correspondence of birth – in the story: the last devatā, to which Ś. addresses himself is Uṣas, the goddess associated with dawn; it is this invocation which makes the fetters fall off. The invocation of Uṣas is preceded by one of the Aśvins, also associated with sunrise and one of Indra, who is connected with the sun. Miss Silburn (*Instant et Cause*, pp. 23, n. 4, 29–30) recognizes in Ś. "un personnage solaire" bound to the cosmic tree and prevented from rising.

[18] It is perhaps not without interest that that the legend is referred to as brahman: according to Mānava the hotṛ being about to begin the recitation calls upon the adhvaryu: *adhvaryo, brahma vadāma* (cf. *brahmodya-*).

[19] Cp. the brahman as the womb of kingship, an idea observed already in other connections.

In the last resort it is, however, not the brahmin, who is immolated, but the sacrificer himself[22] who is in the case of Hariścandra doubled by his son and the brahmin Śunaḥśepa. He himself must pass through death in order to be reborn. Out of himself he is reborn, *ātmā hi jajña ātmanaḥ*, as Nārada teaches. Perhaps Hariścandra's belly inflated by Varuṇa may be considered as an image of Hariścandra's being pregnant with his own rebirth. His belly diminishes to normal proportions at the moment of the sacrificial rebirth, when Śunaḥśepa's fetters fall off. The idea of the rebirth of the sacrificer out of himself is not in opposition to the idea of rebirth out of brahman sacrifice. The equation of the sacrificer with the sacrifice is well established;[23] Prajāpati, the first sacrificer, is at the same time the sacrificial victim while he is also interchangeable with brahman.[24] Moreover the king is, as seen above, proclaimed a brahman as is also the common sacrificer in the dīkṣā. In the legend the two aspects of the ritual birth are expressed simultaneously. Thus we may view Śunaḥśepa, and in a larger sense the brahman, as that part of the sacrificer's own personality from which he is reborn "out of himself".[25]

The legend, when recited, actualizes in its own way the same reality as the ritual in which it is incorporated and it may even be asked if the legend was not from the outset bound up with the sphere of the royal rites.

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[20] For the myth v. S. Lévi, *Doctrine*..., p. 119ff.

[21] This may become clear from the context, in which the myth is referred to in TS. 6,6,6; there it is mentioned in connection with an animal offering to Tvaṣṭṛ "with the wives" (the patnīvatapaśu), clearly intended to promote offspring: "the offering is for Tvaṣṭṛ; Tvaṣṭṛ, of the seed that is spilled moulds the forms." Cf. also the sacrifice of the sūtavaśā cow, conceived of as Indra's mother (chapter: End of the Unction festival).

[22] For the sacrificer as sacrificial victim, cf. KB. 7,3; TĀ. 5,2,2; PB. 4.9,20–21. (In general, cf. v. d. Leeuw, *La Religion*, p. 349f.)

[23] Cf. ŚB. 13,2,2,1; AB. 1,28,30.

[24] Cf. Dumézil, *o.c.*, p. 91.

[25] For the brahman as half the self, half the body of the sacrificer cf. AB. 7,26,4. This approaches Prof. Dumézil's theory of the origins of the brahmin caste. The brahmán would originally have been the substitute of the king to be immolated at the royal sacrifice. The present writer for one doubts however if the practice of killing the old king is at the root of the royal ritual, as already pointed out. The relation brahman-king or brahman-sacrificer may rather be resumed as the wife-husband relation. Their close alliance reflects the androgynic primal being, whose two aspects give birth to each other: Prajāpati engenders Virāj, who again gives birth to Prajāpati; in the ritual the king sacrificer is born out of himself as brahman, on the other side the brahman is the womb of the king-sacrificer.

XIX

DAKṢIṆĀS

At the unction festival there are two sets of dakṣiṇās: those which are due for the Soma sacrifice and those connected with the specific royal rites, inserted in the Soma paradigma. The first are given before the inserted block of royal rites at the prescribed moment,[1] the others directly after or during it.

First we will deal with the "paradigmatical" dakṣiṇās and, following the example of several sūtra authors, at the same time survey the number of dakṣiṇā cows prescribed for all seven Soma festivals of the rājasūya. For all these festivals taken together Āp., Hir., and Śāṅkh. prescribe a hundred thousand cows; Āp. and Śāṅkh. mention as an alternative ten thousand cows.[2] Āp. further mentions the opinion of an unidentified authority of the Ṛgveda ritual prescribing a number of three hundred and sixty thousand.[3] Kāty. prescribes a thousand cows for the first Soma day (the pavitra) and a hundred thousand for the unction festival; as he does not mention the number of cows given on the other Soma days this number was possibly meant for the whole rājasūya.

In the following table the apportioning of the dakṣiṇās over the Soma days is recorded:[4]

	Āp.	Baudh.	Kāty.	Lāty.	Gaut.	Dhanamj.
pavitra	5000 or 1000	1000	1000	112	1000	1000
abhiṣecanīya	30000 or 4000	1000	100.000	240.000	4000	5000
daśapeya	30000 or 1000	1000	—	—	—	—
keśavapanīya	10000 or 1000	1000	—	1000	2000	2000
vyuṣṭi dvirātra	20000 or 2000	(2000)	—	1000	2000	2000
kṣatrasya dhṛti	5000 or 1000	1000	—	112	1000	1000

[1] Cf. CH. no. 191.

[2] Cf. Āp. 18,8,2.5–6; Hir. 13,3,6; Śāṅkh. 15,16,16.19. Ten thousand is also the opinion of Gautama, cited by Lāṭy. 9,3,14–16.

[3] *ṣaṣṭitrīṇi śatāni sahasrāṇi*, cf. Caland's note ad Āp. 18,8,7.

[4] Cf. Āp. 18,8,4–6; Baudh. 12, pp. 85.4; 103.12; 110.6; 111.12; 115.4; 117.13; 118.5;

Baudh. adds to the dakṣiṇā for the unction festival: gold, garments, horses and cows, elephants and slaves.[5]

To the second set of dakṣiṇās belong, according to Baudh., the chariots that performed the chariot drive and which, together with other gifts, are made over after the recitation of the Śunaḥśepa legend.[6] It is stipulated that the adhvaryu receives the chariot of the sacrificer. Besides Baudh. has a hundred country carts (*vipatha-*) given to each of the four chief priests. Further he prescribes to distribute among the priests the thousand cows that were captured during the chariot raid.[7]

A field "of four pādas" is given to the brahman priest (BlYV.).[8] The ratnins who have been addressed with the auspicious names have to look on at the giving of the field (Āp., Hir.). The golden dice, used in the dicing game are given to the adhvaryu, while the odana, which formed the stake in the game of dice, goes to the brahman priest (Baudh.). Another dakṣiṇā connected with the game of dice are the two oxen wich drew the cart with the *pūrvāgni-* to the north of the āhavanīya hearth at the time of the chariot drive; it is to be given directly after the dicing game (WhYV.).[9] The gold-worked seats, used by the adhvaryu and the hotṛ when reciting the Śunaḥśepa legend are given to them (Āśv., Bl. and WhYV.); Kāty.

Kāty. 15,1,5.4,51; Lāṭy. 9,1,9–13, the two columns following Lāṭy. represent the sāmavedin authorities Gautama and Dhanaṃjayya, cited Lāṭy. 9,3,14–16. Hir. has the hundred thousand cows parcelled out equally over the Soma days. Baudh. does not mention the number for the vyuṣṭi; as he prescribes everywhere a thousand cows, we may assume that for this two-day rite the number is two thousand. Kāty. and Lāṭy. do not prescribe a number of cows for the daśapeya, probably on account of its forming a technical unity with the unction festival, so that the "paradigmatical" dakṣiṇās need only to be given once. The special dakṣiṇās mentioned in the description of the daśapeya are probably related only to the non-paradigmatical drinking ceremony.

[5] Baudh. 12,7:95.15 ff. These extra dakṣiṇās are made ready, when the horses are put to the chariots; the elephants are harnessed, in the seams of the garments golden ornaments are fixed and they are wrapped up in packs.

[6] Before, at the moment normally prescribed for the dakṣiṇās, they are given "in mind" only (12,7:96.4).

[7] Cf. Lāṭy. 9,1,18–20, prescribing that one third of the property, taken from the weak relatives of the king, should be given to the priests, one third to those, who take part in the daśapeya drinking ceremony; one third should be returned to the relatives. Cf. also Vādhūla, fragm. 66.

[8] *Catuṣpāt* (or *-pat*) *kṣetra-*; *pād-* or *pad-* seems to be a certain measure. Baudh.'s comm., Bhavasvāmin renders it by *nivartana-* = 20 rods. The comm.'s on Āp. and Hir., however, take it to mean a field and four draught oxen. The same expression is used AB. 8, 20,2 for the dakṣiṇā destined for the priest, who performed the unction. Sāyaṇa, there, explains it as "land and cattle"; this explanation seems less probable, as cows have just before been mentioned in the AB. as another unction dakṣiṇā. MS. 4, p. 57.15 mentions the field only without any measure.

[9] On the *pūrvāgni*, see Annotations Enthronement and Yoking Offerings. This dakṣiṇā is taken over by Āp., who, however, mentions the *pūrvāgni-* nowhere else.

adds to this gift a hundred or a thousand cows for each of them. The brahman priest receives the amulets which the king has put on after the chariot drive (Bl. and WhYV.).[10] The silver and golden plaques, used in the unction ceremony go to the adhvaryu (Āp., Hir., Vārāha).

ANNOTATIONS

The number thousand of the dakṣiṇā cows seems by far the most normal, as a glance at the table given above may show. In some instances, however, probably as a result of the growth of the royal pomp and pageant and of the development of the ritual in general, excessive numbers were drawn up. I do not think, as Weber does (e.g. p. 132) that these numbers were inspired by "priesterliche Habsucht" and that they document the alleged supremacy of the brahmins over the king. Without going further into the nature and significance of the dakṣiṇā-giving, I would like to point to the fact that quantity and quality of the dakṣiṇā is related to the purpose of the sacrifice.[11] Therefore lame cattle – a not too alluring gift for the alleged priestly greed – are prescribed for a magic rite intended to hurt an enemy.[12] In the case of the rājasūya and especially in that of the unction festival, which represents cosmic rebirth and universal regeneration, we can readily understand that they have a counterpart in excessively heavy dakṣiṇās. A number like three hundred and sixty thousand, mentioned by Āp., seems to fit the purpose on account of its being equal to the number of days of the year: it establishes the equality of the dakṣiṇā with a cosmological entity, the full time cycle. The number ten thousand recommends itself on account of its name, *ayuta-*: the king gives an *ayuta-* in order not to be separated (*yu-*) from the realm and the people,[13] that is: he secures the continuity through this gift.

Suffice it to state that the dakṣiṇā system is governed rather by cosmological speculations connected with the ritual, than by greed "pur et simple". Sociologically speaking it belongs to the sphere of the gift exchange system, analyzed by Mauss, the spirit of which is "characteristic of societies which have passed the phase of "total prestation" (between clan and clan, family and family), but have not yet reached the stage of pure individual contract, the money market, sale proper, fixed price and weighed and coined money."[14]

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[10] According to Āp. the king wears the amulets till after the iḍā and sviṣṭakṛt rites for the Marut cake and the āmikṣā of the Viśve Devāḥ. According to TB. 1,7,9,5, they seem to be given immediately after the relevant rite, as is also the case in the WhYV.

[11] Cf. e.g. ŚB. 13,1,5,6.

[12] Cf. ṢaḍvB. 3,8,23f.; Āp. 22,4,24.

[13] Cf. Śāṅkh. 15,16,17.

The integration of the royal rites – unction, chariot drive, enthronement, game of dice, recitation of the Śunaḥśepa legend – in the Soma paradigma occasioned a doubling of the dakṣiṇā giving. The royal rites brought with them their own dakṣiṇās: AB. 8, 20, 2 prescribes gold, a thousand cows and a *catuṣpāt kṣetra-*[15] to be given to the anointing priest in the independent unction rite. The thousand-cows dakṣiṇā seems to have been fused with the "paradigmatical" Soma dakṣiṇā, but, at least in Baudh.'s version, it has retained its connection with the royal rites: the thousand cows are those captured at the time of the chariot drive, led away along the "path of the dakṣiṇās" and then properly distributed after the conclusion of the royal rites. At the moment reserved in the Soma paradigma for the dakṣiṇā giving also cows are given (*go'aśvam*, 12, 7: 96.3), but no number is mentioned; the number thousand of the cows mentioned later on by Baudh. (p. 111.12) must therefore refer to the captured cows.[16] In my opinion we may even go further and observe a clear connection between the raid on the thousand cows and the dakṣiṇā giving ceremony in the normal Soma sacrifice. The raid takes place, according to Lāṭy. 9, 1, 15, at the moment reserved for the dakṣiṇā giving, while part of the captured goods are given to the priests. Baudh., though placing the raiding chariot drive later on, has the chariots made ready at the dakṣiṇā giving time. On the other hand the rites for giving the dakṣiṇās: the sacrificer's encircling them, going up into their midst and touching them,[17] suggest that the dakṣiṇā giving and the raid are closely akin. It seems to me that the dakṣiṇā giving rites and the royal raid have their origin in common, or rather, that the dakṣiṇā rites developed out of the raid. This would present another instance of the development of the Soma ritual out of the ancient royal rites, such as can be observed in the case of the dīkṣā-unction complex.

[14] M. Mauss, *The Gift* (transl. by I. Cunnison) (London, 1954), p. 45. The dakṣiṇā was never conceived of as a salary or fee, cf. J. Gonda, *Lingua*, 5, 1 (1955), pp. 67,75. Interesting is also Mauss's conclusion that in giving gifts "a man gives himself – himself and his possessions –, and he does so because he owes himself to others". A similar idea is explicitly voiced in the mantras for handing over dakṣiṇās, where it is said that the sacrificer buys himself loose from the priest (cf. Āp. 13,6,4).

[15] Cf. Kauś. 17,10, where a thousand cows and a village are prescribed for the unction ceremony described there.

[16] The pompous list of elephants, garments, cows, horses and slaves was probably taken over from the vājapeya in order that the sacrificer might not appear empty-handed at the dakṣiṇā giving (cf. Baudh. 11,6).

[17] Cf. CH. p. 291.

The *catuṣpāt kṣetra-* needs an explanatory note. Though landed property (a village) as a dakṣiṇā for the anointing priest is also attested by Kauś. 17, 10, the case under consideration seems a special one. There are the rather unimpressive dimensions and the strange prescription, that the bearers of the auspicious names should look on at the giving. These features I would like to explain, though positive evidence is lacking, by interpreting the gift of this field as the rudiment of an agrarian fertility rite, in which Kṣetrapati, the lord (or husband) of the field, or his relative Vāstoṣpati was the central figure.[18] It is said that through "this gift (the sacrificer) gets a firm stand in the field";[19] about the same is said of him, who worships Kṣetrapati: "he gets a firm stand on the earth".[20] If I may endeavour to go further into the hypothesis, I would like to suggest that the original ceremony was possibly a royal ploughing rite. Such a rite would readily explain the attentive presence required from the ratnins. The field given would then have been the plot worked by the king at the ceremony.[21] This special plot which as to its dimensions seems rather insignificant, has probably also another connection with the king. We may compare it with the piece of ground on which a new house is built and which is sacred to Vāstoṣpati; this piece of ground is addressed as follows: "Thou art the gods' share on this (earth), from here have sprung the fathers, who have passed away . . .".[22] On the other hand there is the fact that in Northern India the tumulus of the ancestor of the village or tribe is the sanctuary of Kṣetrapāla.[23] With the Coorgs in Southern India the family fields are divided into several plots, each having its own name; the main plot, however, bears the name of the family and in this plot the umbilical cord of the eldest son is buried.[24] If we may interpret the *catuṣpāt kṣetra-* in this light it reveals itself as what might be styled the "birthground" of the royal lineage, from which it is again and again reborn and perpetuated and which after having been worked by the king is entrusted to the brahman priest, who, on account of his being the representative of the brahman power, the womb of royalty, is well qualified to take care of it.

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[18] On Kṣetrapati and Vāstoṣpati, cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 138.

[19] MS. 4,4,6, p. 57.15.

[20] TS. 2,2,1,5; KS. 9,17: 121.6; MS. 2,1,1:2.3.

[21] In the gṛhya ritual Kṣetrapati is honoured at the time of ploughing, cf. ĀśvGS. 2, 10,4; ŚāṅkhGS. 4,13,5. For a survey of royal ploughing ceremonies in India and Greater India, cf. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies* (London, 1931), p. 256ff.

[22] ŚāṅkhGS. 3,2,2.

[23] W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, I, pp. 105–107.

[24] M. Srinivas, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs* (Oxford, 1952), p. 229.

XX

END OF THE UNCTION FESTIVAL

TS. 1,8,16-l; TB. 1,7,10,6; MS. 2,6,13:72.8; 4,4,7:58.1–3; 4,4,3:52.14f.; KS. 15,8:216.3; ŚB. 5,5,5.
Baudh. 12,16:111.6–10; Āp. 18,20,3–6; Hir. 13,6,42–47; Kāty. 15,7,29–34.

The Soma ritual of the unction festival, resumed after the inserted royal rites, winds through the normal Soma paradigma till it reaches the concluding rites – the final bath, the sacrifice of a barren cow and the breaking-up iṣṭi.[1] The first two rites are modified, in the BlYV. the third receives a special form in the WhYV.

a. The final bath

At the final bath the paraphernalia of the dīkṣita and his wife (antelope skin, antelope horn, clothes) are normally committed to the water.[2] In this case, according to Baudh., the sandals of boar skin, worn by the king since the chariot drive, are also committed to the water. When coming out of the bath the king puts on other shoes (Baudh.).[3]

The clothes left in the water of the final bath are in the normal Soma sacrifice replaced by the garments in which the Soma was wrapped. In the case of the unction festival the WhYV. prescribes that he should come out of the bath with one of the unction garments.

Later on at the time of the breaking-up iṣṭi he should give this and the other unction garments to the adhvaryu, exactly as the ordinary Soma sacrificer should give the Soma garments.

As to the final bath itself, it is prescribed by Śāṅkh. and Lāṭy.[4] that it should not be fully performed: the king only dips the right forefoot of the black antelope hide, the fringe of his (dīkṣita) garment, or the antelope horn in the water.[5]

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[1] Cf. CH. nos. 254,256,259.

[2] Cf. CH. no. 254f.g.

[3] *Cārmapakṣyāv upānahau*; probably shoes with leather sides (not soles) are meant. Lāṭy. 9,1,24, giving the same prescript, says that the sacrificer leaves the avabhṛtha with shoes of antelope skin.

[4] Śāṅkh. 15,13,14–15; Lāṭy. 9,23–24.

[5] For these items of the dīkṣita apparel, cf. CH. no. 17a.d.f.

The return from the avabhṛtha is in the BlYV. marked by three ghee libations, offered on the way back, to resp. Apāṃ Napāt (Son of the Waters), Ūrjo Napāt (Son of nourishing strength) and Agni Gṛhapati (Agni the Lord of the House). The first libation is made in the water where the avabhṛtha has taken place, with the mantra: "To Apāṃ Napāt, svāhā." Half way between the place of the final bath and the sacrificial compound the second libation is made on a bunch of darbha grass, on an anthill or on a dry tree trunk, with: "To Ūrjo Napāt, svāhā". When they have returned the third libation is made in the gārhapatya fire, with: "To Agni Lord of the House, svāhā."

b. The sacrifice of the barren cow

The barren cow (*vaśā-*), which according to the normal paradigma is sacrificed in honour of Mitra and Varuṇa, is in this case assigned by the Maitrāyaṇīyas, followed by Āp. and Hir., to Indra. As to the preparation and offering of the cake, which normally forms part of the animal sacrifice, it is prescribed, that the material for it – wild rice (*nīvāra-*) in this case – should not be taken down from a cart, as usual,[6] but from a wickerwork basket.[7]

Normally the sacrificer has his hair cut and his beard shaven after the offering of the omentum of the anūbandhyā cow, but here Baudh. forbids this.[8]

c. The breaking-up iṣṭi

This iṣṭi, performed after breaking-up from the place of sacrifice,[9] is according to the WhYV. a *traidhātavīyā-* (having three layers, elements) iṣṭi. It consists of the offering of a cake, baked on 12 potsherds, to Indra and Viṣṇu. The cake is formed by three layers, two of rice and the middle one of barley.[10] For this iṣṭi the WhYV. prescribes three dakṣiṇās: gold, cows and garments, each of them three in number, to be given respectively to the brahman, the hotṛ and the adhvaryu.

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[6] Cf. Hillebrandt, *NVO*, p. 22.

[7] *Sūnā-*; Āp.'s comm. considers this to be a wooden bench used in cutting meat. For the use of a *pātrī-*, which may denote a vessel of any description, instead of the havis cart, cf. Hillebrandt, *NVO*. p, 26.

[8] For the interdiction of hair-cutting, see also the description of the daśapeya.

[9] Cf. CH. no. 259.

[10] The fact that there are two sorts of havis, rice and barley, for one cake necessitates a special procedure. Kāty.'s comm. prescribes that at the taking out of the havis from the cart (cf. *NVO*, p. 22) first a handful (a certain measure) of rice is taken, then two handfuls, consisting each of one part of rice and two parts of barley, and then again a handful of rice. Cf. Baudh.'s description of the traidhātavīyā (13,41–42); he prescribes to take four handfuls of rice, then four handfuls of barley and then again four handfuls of rice. In both ways a ratio of one to two is realized. The point at issue is the solution

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a. The final bath

The final bath by means of which the participants purify themselves and dispose of the leavings of the sacrifice – the pressed out Soma plants, the black antelope skin, the dīkṣita garments – marks not only the end of the Soma day, but also the end of the whole foregoing year: "whatever sin he has committed in the year before, verily that thereby he propitiates".[11] Thus the avabhṛtha has at the same time the meaning of death[12] and of new birth.[13] The danger of this critical moment is enhanced by the fact that the daśapeya festival, following ten days after the unction festival and connected in its technical aspect and in its meaning with the unction festival, is in danger of being cut off by the caesura of the avabhṛtha. The three libations, offered on the way back, restore the shaken continuity, as the MS. argues. They do so – it seems to me – by stressing the birth aspect of the return to the sacrificial compound. They mark the gradual rise from the waters, which represent death as well as rebirth, to the earth represented by the gārhapatya fire.[14]

Now I shall try to show that the three places where the libations are made, the water, the bunch of darbha grass (anthill or dry tree trunk) and the gārhapatya, are considered so many wombs, from which fire is generated, and with the fire the sacrificer whose life is intimately bound up with the sacrificial fire.[15] The waters as the womb from which the fire

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of the problem how the simultaneous processing of the two sorts of raw material, which must be kept apart, should be done without doubling each phase (taking out, husking, pounding), which would only be possible if there were two sets of offerings. How this is done for the taking out, has just been seen. The solution indicated by Baudh. for the other acts seems to be to have the acts performed "sacrally" by the adhvaryu for the rice only, while the barley is held up at it (in order that the effect of the sacred act extends also over the barley); the barley is then processed "profanely" only. (Cf. Baudh. 12,41:148.19: *teṣāṃ vrīhiṣv eva haviṣkṛtam udvādayaty, upodyacchante yavān*). For further particulars on this iṣṭi, cf. Caland, *W.O.*, no. 178.

[11] Cf. TS. 6,6,3,1. It is to be remembered that the Soma sacrifice is to take place annually in spring, marking the turn of the year (cf. CH. no. 1).

[12] Cf. ChUp. 3,17,5. Therefore the participants return from the avabhṛtha without looking back, "to separate themselves from Varuṇa" (TS. 6,6,3,5; TB. 1,6,5,6).

[13] Cf. MS. 3,6,7:68.18; ŚB. 4,4,5,1. It is the same ambiguity met with before in the unction.

[14] For the equation gārhapatya-earth, cf. e.g. ŚB. 2,3,4,36; 7,1,1,6.

[15] To this effect, cf. e.g. the samārohaṇa rite and the rite, wherein the householder and his fire exchange their names (ŚāṅkhGS. 5,1,1; ĀpŚS. 6,24,7.26,4).

(*Apāṃ Napāt*, son of the waters) is born, are well-known.[16] As to the darbha grass, it may be remembered that the fire[17] is also considered the embryo of the plants, of which darbha grass is a representative.[18] The anthill as a womb has already been met with in another connection. The tree trunk is possibly motivated by the consideration that trees are considered the abode of the embryo.[19] The gārhapatya easily inscribes itself in this triad of wombs.[20] By means of this triad of libations, which may also be considered as equivalent to the covers of the embryo left behind or rather placed back in the womb when the sacrificer reborn in the avabhṛtha returns to earth, the thread of life is restored and the continuity in time (the passing of the critical phase of the year's turning) as well as in space (the sacrificer again gets a firm stand in the three worlds, as TB. has it) is re-established.

b. The sacrifice of the barren cow

This sacrifice for Indra must originally have been connected with the unction itself. This is evidenced by MS., which deals with it when explaining the unction apparel of the king: "When Indra was born the tārpya garment was his womb, the pāṇḍara garment the amnion and the uṣṇīṣa turban his umbilical cord; he was born from the *sūtavaśā*- (a cow barren after having borne one calf), the wickerwork basket was her udder, the wild rice the biestings; therefore the cake is prepared from wild rice".[21] In the somasava – a royal inauguration on the lines of the rājasūya, but without Soma days – the sacrifice of a sūtavaśā is actually performed concurrently with the unction and forms its frame.[22] We may therefore safely assume that the sūtavaśā sacrifice for Indra was originally meant to be the frame for the unction. This gives us a view of the history of the royal ritual. Whereas Varuṇa is the presiding deity of the rājasūya at large – the rājasūya is also styled Varuṇa-sava – and of the unction and enthronement in particular, Indra is paramount in the present unction sacrifice, as he is also in the unctions dealt with in the AB. Apparently two traditions met and mixed in the rājasūya. In the process Indra, however, got the worst of it and the sacrifice in his honour was relegated to the outskirts of the festival, in which originally he was entitled to occupy the central place. Moreover in the somasava, where the sūtavaśā sacrifice was preserved in its original function, it is not Indra to whom it was dedicated, but Soma.

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[16] Cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 69f.

[17] Ūrjo Napāt is considered by Mādhava ad TS. 1,8,16 (BI. p. 170) the fire of digestion in the stomach.

[18] Cf. RV. 3,1,13; ŚB. 7,2,3,2; ṢaḍvB. 4,1,12 (also: W. B. Bollée, *Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (Thesis Utrecht, 1956), p. 94).

[19] Cf. ŚB. 4,5,2,13. A tree trunk is also mentioned together with a tree, reed and an anthill as places, where the remainders of the cakes offered to Rudra Tryambaka are to be left when returning from the place of worship of Rudra to the sacrificial compound (cf. Āp. 8,18,8–9; ŚB. 2,6,2,17).

[20] Cf. TB. 1,4,7,4; ŚB. 7,1,1,8; 8,6,3,8. The gārhapatya is entrusted with the care of offspring, when the pater familias sets out on a journey (Āp. 6,24,3.26.1).

[21] MS. 4,4,3:52.12–15. Indra's birth from a vaśā cow also TS. 6,1,3,6. AV. 12,4,33 states that the vaśā cow is the mother of the rājanya, this being the reason why a vaśā cow should be given to the brahman priest. In passing it may be noted, that in this AV. passage again we come across the idea of the womb, embryonic cover, placed back in the womb (the brahman).

[22] Cf. TB. 2,7,4; Āp. 22,25,9–13; Baudh. 18,5. Also at the vaiśyasava the unction is performed concurrently with the immolation of a cow for the Maruts (Āp. 22,25, 4–5).

The framing of the unction in the sacrifice of the sūtavaśā cow is interesting in that it demonstrates the interrelation of sacrifice and birth. The conception underlying the sacrifice of the sūtavaśā is clearly that in being immolated she gives birth to Indra, c.q. the king. What is meant, when the brāhmaṇa texts speak of the "birth out of sacrifice", is put here in concrete terms. The birth is simultaneously figured in an impressive manner by the unction ceremony.[23]

c. *The breaking-up iṣṭi*

The three-layered iṣṭi, like the three libations on the return from the avabhṛtha, seems to be specially intended to secure the continuity at this critical moment. For this reason probably we find it, with Baudh., at the end of the whole rājasūya, together with the devikā-havīṃṣi, which have a similar function, and also at the end of other savas: aśvamedha, somasava, and pṛthiṣava.[24] Originally the traidhātavīyā was also in the WhYV. placed at the end of the whole rājasūya and not at the end of the unction festival, as is shown by ŚB, where it is treated at the end of the rājasūya portion. It is interesting that the ŚB. states that it is the proper ceremony for breaking up after a sacrificial session of a year's or longer duration.[25]

This iṣṭi is based on the number three and is thereby connected by the

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The slaughtering of a cow at the unction is also mentioned by Kauś. 17,27, but there it is a point of dispute.

[23] The ŚB. bases the embedding of the unction in the Soma sacrifice and the iṣṭis immediately surrounding the unction on a similar consideration (cf. ŚB. 5,3,5,1; 5,1,4,2; 5,4,4,24).

[24] Cf. Baudh. 15,38:244.6; 18,5:347.13; 18,6:348.18. Āp. has the traidhātavīyā at the beginning and at the end of the aśvamedha (Āp. 20,8,4.23,5). Śāṅkh. 15,16,2 has the traidhātavīyā for the breaking-up iṣṭi at the hair-cutting Soma festival.

[25] ŚB. 5,5,5,13.

brāhmaṇa authors with the three worlds, the three Vedas,[26] while the last sāmidhenī stanza refers to the three strengths (*vājina-*) and to the three abodes of Agni.[27] The meaning of the number three in this context is made perfectly clear by the ŚB. Indra, after having with Viṣṇu's help established himself in the three worlds, overcame Vṛtra and took from him "the womb, the belly" (*yonir āśayaḥ*); this became the traidhātavīyā iṣṭi. From this womb the sacrifice, exhausted after the year-long offering, is reproduced, made fit again. The sacrificer also, exhausted by his gift of a thousand cows is restored through it.[28] Or in the words of TS. 2, 4, 11, 4: "Prajāpati created cattle, he created them with the three-layered iṣṭi; he who knowing thus sacrifices, desirous of cattle, with the three-layered iṣṭi, creates cattle from the very womb, whence Prajāpati created them". Thus this iṣṭi effects, like the three libations on the return from the avabhṛtha, a reproduction from the three-fold womb and thereby restores the continuity.

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[26] Cf. resp. TS. 2,4,11,5; ŚB. 5,5,5,9.

[27] Cf. TS. 2,4,11,2.

[28] Cf. ŚB. 5,5,5,6.10.12.

XXI

SAṂSṚP OFFERINGS[1]

TS. 1,8,17; TB. 1,8,1; MS. 2,6,13:72.9–14; 4,4,7; KS. 15,9:21.6.4–8; ŚB. 5,4,5,1–18. Baudh. 12,17:111.14–112.20; Āp. 18,20,7–11.19–20; Hir. 13,7,1–8; Kāty. 15,8,1–9.15.

These offerings are a series of ten iṣṭis, performed on the days intervening between the unction festival and the daśapeya: (see table on next page).

The WhYV. prescribes as dakṣiṇā for each of these iṣṭis a lotus flower – either a natural or a gold one –; at the eighth and ninth two lotuses are given so as to make up twelve in all. These twelve, arranged in a garland and hung round the sacrificer's neck, replace the dīkṣā for the daśapeya, so that by giving each time a lotus his dīkṣā seems to diminish.

Apart from the usual dīkṣā and upasad rites the preparation for the daśapeya Soma festival is formed by the ten saṃsṛp iṣṭis. The daśapeya is to be performed on the tenth day after the unction festival.[2] In other words there are ten iṣṭis to be divided over nine days. The readjustment is – in the BlYV. – made by performing the seventh and the eighth saṃsṛp both on the seventh day.[3] This solution seems to be conditioned by the fact that this day has, in the scheme of the daśapeya Soma festival, a double function: dīkṣā and first upasad day.[4] Baudh. on the other hand begins the saṃsṛps on the day of the unction, after the breaking-up iṣṭi; then the daśapeya is due on the ninth day.[5] The WhYV. begins the

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[1] Cf. also the description of the daśapeya.

[2] The tenth day is explicitly prescribed by ŚB. 5,4,5,3; Śāṅkh. 15,14,5. Cf. also Vārāha 3,3,4,24–31. According to Āp. 18,12,1 and Hir. 13,5.1 ten days must be left for (the saṃsṛps and) the daśapeya at the end of the year, which is filled out with the dīkṣā days preceding the unction festival. (Caland's note ad Āp., *l.c.*, is not clear to me.)

[3] Cf. Baudh. 12, p. 112.8; also Sāyaṇa ad ŚB. 5,4,5,3 and Hir's. paddhati (p. 187).

[4] The dīkṣā and the distinctive act of the first upasad day – the Soma purchase – take place both on the same day, as is expressly enjoined by TS. 1,8,18,1 and TB. 1,8,2,1. Cf. also chapter: Daśapeya (description, n. 10). Kāty.'s comm. deserves attention in that it gives another interpretation of the ten-day period, beginning it with the first day (the dīkṣā day) of the unction festival, the latter then takes place on the fifth day, all the saṃsṛps fall on the sixth day, the seventh, eighth and ninth days are devoted to the upasads and on the tenth the daśapeya is celebrated.

[5] Cf. Baudh. (karmānta) 26,2:272.12. The ninth day is also the opinion of Mādhava ad TS. 1,8,20 (p. 194).

Taittirīyakas			*Sequence according to*		
god	*offering*	*dakṣiṇā*	*MS./KS.*	*WhYV.*	*Śāṅkh.*
1. Agni	cake on 8 potsherds	gold (or a piece of gold with 8 protuberances, *aṣṭāpṛḍ-*, MS.)	1. Savitṛ	Savitṛ	Savitṛ Prasavitṛ
2. Sarasvatī	caru	young cow	2. Sarasvatī	Sarasvatī	Savitṛ Āsavitṛ
3. Savitṛ	cake on 12 potsh. (8p., KS., MS., WhYV.)	speckled ox (or reddish ox, *śyeta-*, MS., KS.)	3. Pūṣan	Tvaṣṭṛ	Savitṛ Satyaprasava
4. Pūṣan	caru	black ox	4. Bṛhaspati	Pūṣan	Sarasvatī
5. Bṛhaspati	caru	white-backed ox	5. Indra	Indra	Tvaṣṭṛ
6. Indra	cake on 11 potsh.	bull	6. Varuṇa	Bṛhaspati	Pūṣan
7. Varuṇa	cake on 10 potsh. (of barley, KS., MS.,) (caru of barley, WhYV.)	great castrated ox (of reddish brown colour, *babhru-*, MS., KS.)	7. Tvaṣṭṛ	Varuṇa	Indra
8. Soma	caru	reddish-brown ox	8. Agni	Agni	Bṛhaspati
9. Tvaṣṭṛ	cake on 8 (or 10, WhYV.) potsh.	ox of short stature (or of white colour?, *śuṇṭha-*); (with a deformation on the shoulder? *aṃsepāñśuṇṭha-*, or an ox with long ears, *adhirūḍhakarṇa-*, MS.)	9. Soma	Soma	Soma
10. Viṣṇu	cake on 3 potsh.	dwarf ox	10. Viṣṇu	Viṣṇu	Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa

saṃsṛps, as Baudh., on the day of the unction festival and, having no contraction, ends up on the tenth day with the daśapeya.[6]

The last three saṃsṛps are performed during the three upasad days. The gods of these three saṃsṛps are – except with the Taittirīyakas – the same as the gods of the upasad iṣṭis, to wit Agni, Soma and Viṣṇu. These saṃsṛps are performed respectively before the morning upasad, between the morning and evening upasad and after the evening upasad before the āhavanīya fire is moved to the uttaravedi.[7] According to the WhYV. the three last are performed after both upasad iṣṭis on all three days. In the WhYV. moreover the last three saṃsṛps may replace the upasad iṣṭis[8] or, inversely, the saṃsṛps may be replaced by the upasads.[9]

The saṃsṛps not only bridge the lapse of time between the unction festival and the daśapeya but also connect the two festivals in space. The first seven saṃsṛps are performed each on a separate place of sacrifice. The seven places of sacrifice form so many stations on the way to the sacrificial compound, where the daśapeya is to take place and which is situated, according to the WhYV., to the north of the unction site.[10] According to Āp. and Hir.[11] the place of sacrifice is shifted at each iṣṭi to the east in such a way, that the āhavanīya hearth of the preceding day accommodates on the following day the gārhapatya fire and the eighth iṣṭi takes place on the site of the daśapeya. Baudh. enjoins that the fire hut for the daśapeya should be erected beforehand at a distance of seven śamyā throws; each time one moves one śamyā throw in the direction of the daśapeya site.[12]

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[6] Cf. ŚB. 5,4,5,5.

[7] I.e. before CH. no. 52; between CH. nos. 62 and 68 (acc. to Hir.'s paddhati directly after the recitation of the subrahmaṇyā formula, CH. no. 63); after CH. no. 76 before the āhavanīya fire is moved to the uttaravedi, CH. no. 79 (Baudh. 12, p. 113.1).

[8] Cf. Kāty. 15,8,15; ŚB. 5,4,5,15–17 mentions but rejects this view.

[9] A similar opinion seems to obtain also for the BlYV., in so far as Vārāha 3,3,4,5 speaks of only seven saṃsṛps and Āp. 18,20,7 of "ten or seven" iṣṭis. The origin of this opinion lies, as far as the BlYV. is concerned, probably with the Kāṭhakas: KS. mentions no dakṣiṇās for the last three saṃsṛps, showing in this way that they are included in and perhaps identical with the upasad iṣṭis. In this same line lies the prescript, perhaps also originating with the Kāṭhakas, that the three sticks, which are put down to enclose the fire on the south, east, and west side (*paridhi-*) and the darbha grass on the vedi (*barhiṣ-*, *prastara-*) are the same for both the saṃsṛp iṣṭis and the upasad-iṣṭis. Seven saṃsṛps is also the opinion of Āśv.'s comm. (ad 9,3,7).

[10] Cf. also Śāṅkh. 15,14,12; there, however, the saṃsṛps are offered on the site of the daśapeya.

[11] Also Vārāha 3,3,4,7 and Śālīki, cf. Baudh. 22,20:144.8.

[12] As it is generally forbidden to leave to the east of a sacrificial compound room enough for another place of sacrifice (cf. CH. no. 9; ṢaḍvB. 2,10,12), there can be no

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The number ten obviously plays a great part in the daśapeya, as is already indicated by its name. It is therefore to be expected that this festival is preceded by a decempartite period of preparation, marked by the ten saṃsṛp iṣṭis. This decempartite period is not only given form in days, but also in months: Vaitāna 36, 3 has the saṃsṛps performed during the year preceding the unction festival with monthly intervals. It seems reasonable to assume that the ten saṃsṛp days represent the year.[13] Very much like the unction festival, which is also preceded by a year of ritual performances, the daśapeya may be considered a ceremony connected with the turn of the year. In the case of the daśapeya, however, the year would consist of ten instead of twelve months. Perhaps the name of the daśapeya bears witness to this supposed connection with a ten-month year and to the corresponding interpretation of the saṃsṛps. Baudh. 18, 51 mentions a *vāja-* sacrifice preceded by monthly *peya-* offerings, which latter he states to be "the form of the months"; the *vāja-* sacrifice itself represents the year. Interpreted in this way the term *daśapeya-* would not only mean "festival at which ten cups of Soma are drunk each by ten brahmins", but at the same time a festival preceded by a year of ten months.[14] In point of fact there is evidence for an Indo-European conception of a ten-month year, motivated as the period of gestation.[15]

Besides the number ten, an important role seems also to be assigned to the number seven. There are seven sacrificial stations, Vārāha speaks of only seven saṃsṛps and Varuṇa occupies in the sequence of offerings the

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direct connection between the two places of sacrifice, though this will originally have been the intention. Possibly the start was taken from the place where the breaking-up iṣṭi at the end of the unction festival was offered. I am under the impression, that Caland (trans. Āp. 18,20,9–10) is not right in assuming that the first saṃsṛp was offered on a place to the west of the unction site, which latter was to be reentered after the seventh iṣṭi to serve again as place of sacrifice for the daśapeya. That the unction site is not used twice is made perfectly clear by Baudh. 26,1:271.3, where it is stated that there are six fire-huts, i.e. one for each Soma festival, and six sacrificial stakes, connected with them.

[13] Cf. e.g. ŚB. 12,1,3,20 where a ten-day period is equated to the year.

[14] The connection of the ten saṃsṛps with the year is moreover indicated by ŚB. 5,4,5, 14: the twelve lotus flowers given as dakṣiṇās represent the year.

[15] Cf. Schrader-Nehring, *RIA*, II, 70. Also TS. 7,4,8,1, where 2 months are mentioned, which are styled the end (of the year), the 'troubled' (*ārta-*) or the 'torn' (*vyasta-*) part of the year; in other words a year of ten months and two additional months being the period in which the turn of the year takes place. These two months might be considered a bipartite extra "unit" added to the complex of the ten-month year (for two as an extra unit added to decimals, cf. J. Gonda, *Reflections on the numerals one and two* (Utrecht, 1953), p. 46f.). Perhaps, speaking in a more general way the twelve months of the year may be conceived of as a "long ten".

seventh place. Now Varuṇa, the deity presiding – as the prototype of the king – over the unction, is said to have lost his strength (*indriya- vīrya-*, TB., *bhargas-*, ŚB.), which fell asunder in ten parts by the action of the unction waters; by means of the saṃsṛp offerings he gradually recovered his strength. It might therefore have been expected for Varuṇa to occupy the tenth place in the list as the concluding and encompassing last element.[16] The number seven, however, is often found in connection with Varuṇa. Varuṇa reigns over the seven streams;[17] he contains in himself the three earths and the three heavens and thereby as Bergaigne argues is himself the seventh element.[18] In this connection we may recall the cosmological conception of the seven worlds[19] and other groups of seven entities, which express totality, perfection, such as the seven steps in the marriage ritual.[20] The seven steps are also interesting in that they show a close resemblance to the seven stations marking the way "upwards" (to the north, *uttarataḥ*) to the daśapeya site. In this way the number seven and Varuṇa's seventh place can be easily explained. It is, however, not to be inferred from these considerations, that here we have two opposing traditions. It can be shown that the system based on the number seven links up with the decempartite system in a natural way. When dealing with the indraturīya, for instance, it has been seen that Indra occupied the third instead of the fourth place, expressing the idea of the embryo protected by the embryonic covers. The saṃsṛps seem to present an analogous case: when Varuṇa occupies the seventh place, he seems to be situated in the midst of three covers, which consist each of three parts. The tripartite heaven and the tripartite earth, over which Varuṇa is said to reign – divisions of space and time correspond to embryonic covers – can quite naturally have been supplemented with a third tripartite world, as in general the conception of three worlds is often to be met with. Viewed in this way not the number seven but the number nine, in the midst of which a tenth is encased, is essential here.

Now the numbers nine and ten are used to express the totality of man: man is said to consist of nine vital forces (*prāṇa-*), while the navel is the tenth.[21] Instructive is also the case of the samiṣṭayajus libations, which are considered to expiate all the faults in the performance of a sacrifice; they are equated to the nine vital forces and to the six seasons plus the three worlds;[22] the tenth element is provided by the svāhā call made at each libation and thus in a way connecting the nine others.[23] On the other hand the number nine is well-known to be connected with powers concerned with fertility[24] and thus falls perfectly in line with the idea of the protective covers of the embryo. In other words the process of Varuṇa's or the king's reintegration effected by means of the saṃsṛps is in reality another form of the growth of the embryo, gradually maturing in the womb. This is also indicated by the TB. where it explains the saṃsṛp offerings for Soma and Tvaṣṭṛ: "Soma is the placer of the seed, (by the offering to Soma) he places the seed"; "Tvaṣṭṛ moulds the seed, when placed, into forms".

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[16] In the list of Śāṅkh. Varuṇa is not mentioned; instead of Varuṇa we find there Indra in his place. Indra and Varuṇa, whose interrelation is still to be investigated, often alternate in Vedic mythology.

[17] RV. 8,69,12; 8,41,9.

[18] RV. 7,87,5. Cf. also Bergaigne, *R.V.*, II, p. 128. Mhbh. 5,110,4 says that the moon is born at the beginning of the light half of the month by drinking the six saps of Varuṇa.

[19] Cf. e.g. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 64.

[20] Cf. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 59. Seven is not only used for denoting the totality of the universe in terms of space, but also in terms of time, i.e. generations, cf. Th. Zachariae, "Sieben mahl auf die Welt kommen", *Kl. Schriften* (Bonn-Leipzig, 1920), p. 33-41.

The maturing of the embryo during the decempartite period or the gradual reintegration of Varuṇa, c.q. the king, is here put in terms of a march through the universe, marked by the stations on the way to the daśapeya. In the process the sacrificer completes the round of the constituting elements of the universe – the ten months[25] as well as the seven worlds, which, piecing them together (in this respect the overlapping trajects of the march to the daśapeya site are significant), he integrates anew in himself. In the end he reaches completion again having encompassed and tied up in himself the disintegrated universe. I might therefore render the term *saṃsṛpāṃ havīṃṣi* by: "the offerings of the encompassing strides".[26]

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[21] Cf. KS. 9,16:119.7.

[22] Cf. Āp. 13,18,4; TS. 6,6,2,1–2.

[23] ŚB. 4,4,4,1–2.

[24] Cf. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 95.

[25] In connection with the time aspect it is interesting to note, that the names of the saṃsṛp gods may, according to the WhYV., be inserted in the list of ancestors, when a participant in the daśapeya can not enumerate 10 generations of Soma drinking ancestors; cf. also Śāṅkh. 15,14,6–7.

[26] This meaning is also attested by the name of a particular ahīna called "Vasiṣṭha's saṃsṛp". The number of verses, on which the lauds of this ahīna are composed, express the idea of ascension and descent through the universe (PB. 21,11,1–4). JB. 2,289 states that Vasiṣṭha by means of this rite "encompassed by strides" (*samasarpat*) the (three) worlds. JB. calls this rite *saṃsarpa-*; it is perhaps not without interest that *saṃsarpa-* is also the thirteenth or intercalary month, the embryo of the year and that the *saṃsarpa-* rite is recommended for one who wishes to obtain offspring. Thus the ideas of the encompassing of the universe (in respect to both space and time), the maturing of the embryo, and procreation reveal themselves again as closely intertwined.

XXII

DAŚAPEYA

TS. 1,8,18; TB. 1,8,2; MS. 4,4,8–9(60.7); KS. 15,10:216.20; VS. 10,30; ŚB. 5,4,5,18–23. Baudh. 12,17–18; Āp. 18,20,11–21,7; Hir. 13,7,2–16; Kāty. 15,8,8–30.

The unction festival is followed up after a ten days interval, during which the saṃsṛp iṣṭis are performed, by the third Soma festival, the daśapeya. This latter festival, according to Āp. and Hir., closes the "unction year".[1]

Dīkṣā and upasad rites

The introduction for the daśapeya – the usual dīkṣā and upasad days – is embedded in the preceding saṃsṛp days. It even seems as though the original preparation for the daśapeya is the saṃsṛp iṣṭis, while the usual dīkṣā and upasad rites were added only later on in order to comply with the general Soma paradigma which has been normalized for all Soma sacrifices. This feature is well illustrated by the fact that in the WhYV. the whole of the dīkṣā is substituted by a wreath of twelve lotus flowers – golden or natural ones – which the sacrificer hangs round his neck. These lotus flowers are part of the saṃsṛp iṣṭis as they are at the same time used as dakṣiṇās at each of these iṣṭis.[2] The upasad iṣṭis may – according to Kāty., though ŚB. 5, 4, 5, 17 refutes this view – be omitted, the gods to whom these iṣṭis are dedicated being the same as those of the last three saṃsṛp iṣṭis.[3] The rites connected with the Soma purchase – the distinctive trait of the first upasad day – are in the version of the WhYV. only partly performed. The Soma for the daśapeya has already been purchased together with the Soma destined for the unction Soma festival; wrapped up separately it has been stored in the house of the brahman priest after the procession rite;[4] it is taken out on the seventh saṃsṛp day (the first upasad day) and only the rites of the guest reception for king Soma[5] are performed. Technically speaking this means that both festivals have their framework (*tantra-*) in common.[6]

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[1] Cf. Āp. 18,12,1; Hir. 13,5,1. According to Hir.'s comm., however, the unction festival is to take place not before the full moon in the middle of the month Taiṣa but after it, viz. in the first half of the following month (Māgha); in this scheme the daśapeya was probably to be performed on the full moon day in the middle of Māgha. Kāty.'s view seems to be the day of the new moon marking the end of the month Phālguna. Vait., who does not connect the daśapeya and the unction festival by means of the saṃsṛps – the saṃsṛps here taking the place of the cāturmāsya sacrifices – places the unction in the month Māgha and the daśapeya a month later, in Phālguna. All these dates fall in the months connected with the passing of the year. Baudh., however, seems clearly to place the daśapeya in the period of the beginning of the new year. With him the critical months for the turn of the year are everywhere Phālguna and Caitra. Consequently he has the unction performed on the day of the new moon at the end of Caitra or Vaiśākha, 13 months after the beginning of the rājasūya – as seen earlier the 13-months year is of common occurrence as the expression of the full year. The daśapeya then follows in the first half of the next month (Vaiśākha or Jyaiṣṭha).

In the BlYV. both festivals are treated as separate units, the daśapeya having its own dīkṣā and upasad rites.[7] Here only part of the dīkṣā, viz. the apsu dīkṣā[8], is left out and substituted by the wreath of twelve lotuses.[9]

The Soma purchase takes place according to the BlYV. on the same day as the reduced dīkṣā, viz. in the afternoon of the seventh saṃsṛp day after the seventh saṃsṛp iṣṭi has been performed in the morning.[10] The price for the separately purchased Soma is ten bull calfs.[11] According to Āp. and Hir., who probably have borrowed this rule from the WhYV., the Soma has already been purchased together with the Soma needed for the unction festival. For this reason the purchasing rites are reduced to driving away the ten bull calfs from the mother cows.

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[2] According to JB. 2,200 the lotus wreath is put on directly after the final bath of the unction festival. Perhaps we may assume that this is also the intention of the WhYV.; the situation would in that case be much clearer if it was assumed that the sacrificer puts on the wreath before the saṃsṛps and gives at each iṣṭi one of its lotuses, thus after each iṣṭi diminishing his dīkṣā apparel.

[3] The Baudhāyanīya Śālīki lays down that the upasad iṣṭis are to be performed, but without mantras (Baudh. 22,20: 145.2).

[4] Cf. CH. no. 35–38.

[5] Cf. CH. no. 39–44.

[6] This technical question is discussed Kāty. 15,8,10–13. Cf. also Śāṅkh.ŚS. 15,13,1–2, who even goes further stating that all the introductory acts up to and including the guest reception of Soma and the concluding rites to begin with the avabhṛtha are performed only once for both sacrifices, resp. before the unction festival and after the daśapeya.

[7] Cf. the technical discussion by Mādhava ad TS. 1,8,18 (BI. p. 183).

[8] Cf. CH. no. 14.

[9] According to Hir. the lotuses are twelve or six in number. JB. 2,200 discusses the numbers 12,7,6,5,4 and 3, but decides for a wreath of twelve lotuses.

[10] Nevertheless Āp. 18,20,18, though he recognizes the rule laid down already in the TS. that the dīkṣā and the Soma purchase take place on the same day, states that there is one dīkṣā day and three upasad days. This discrepancy can be explained away by assuming that the Soma purchase is separated from the rites of the first upasad day and added to those of the dīkṣā day. Cf. however the paddhati on Hir. 13,7,2–7 (p. 187), where it is made clear that not only the Soma purchase but the whole of the rites of the first upasad day are performed on the same day. From Baudh.'s description the same may be inferred. A more probable solution can in my opinion be reached when we ascribe Āp.'s one dīkṣā and three upasad days to interpolation or borrowing.

At the daśapeya the hotṛ must belong to the lineage of the ṛṣi Bhṛgu.[12]

The vasatīvarī water, which is to be used in the preparation of the Soma sap and which is drawn on the last upasad day before sunset, should in the case of the daśapeya be water from the river Sarasvatī. Baudh. stipulates that it is to be drawn together with the Sarasvatī water needed for the unction and stored till this moment.[13]

The Soma day

The daśapeya is of the agniṣṭoma type, the basic paradigma of all Soma sacrifices. As to the part of the chanters it is prescribed that for the third pṛṣṭha laud the śrāyantīya sāman[14] should be used and for the yajñāyajñīya laud the vāravantīya sāman.[15] Further it is stated that the daśapeya is *saptadaśastoma*-, i.e. the lauds are each made up of seventeen verses (or the number of the verses used is brought up to this number by artificial means).

In the hotṛ ritual it is laid down that two additional Ṛgveda stanzas, in

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The tendency of carrying through the general Soma paradigma for all Soma sacrifices may have intervened here, as one dīkṣā and three upasad days are the rule for the agniṣṭoma type. Cf. also comm. ad Āśv. 9,3,7, who holds that the daśapeya is preceded by one dīkṣā and three upasad days.

[11] There is a general rule that at the Soma festivals of the rājasūya the price of the Soma is 200 cows (Āp. 10,26,8–9). Baudh.'s dvaidhasūtra seems to allude to this rule, where it states that besides the price mentioned above, the usual (200) cows are to be given according to Baudh. himself but according to Śālīki only these (ten bull calfs) (Baudh. 22,20:144.17; cf. also ib. p. 142.5).

[12] According to most schools (TS. 1,8,18; MS. 4,3,9:49.6; JB. 2,202; PB. 18,9,2) the Bhārgava hotṛ officiates only in the daśapeya and must therefore be separately installed before the daśapeya with the usual ritual (CH. no. 4–7). According to Śāṅkh.ŚS. 15,12,2 (Āśv. does not mention the Bhārgava hotṛ) the Bhārgava hotṛ officiates in all sacrifices of the rājasūya and must be installed before the first Soma day (the pavitra). Divergence on this point between Baudhāyana and Śālīki is noted Baudh. 22,20:145.5. Kāty., who takes the unction festival and the daśapeya as a technical unity, has the Bhārgava hotṛ installed before the former.

[13] Baudh. 12,8:98.10. For the vasatīvarī water, CH. no. 108.

[14] Cf. CH. no. 207. The śrāyantīya sāman is sung on SV. 2,669–670 (= RV. 8,99,3–4) beginning with the words: *śrāyanta iva sūryam*. The mode of chanting is grāmageya gāṇa 7,2,5.

[15] Cf. CH. no. 241. The vāravantīya sāman is sung on SV. 2,984–86 beginning with the words: *aśvaṃ na tvā vāravantam* (RV. 1,27,1). The mode of chanting is grāmageya gāna 1,1,30.

which the Navagvas are mentioned, are recited at the beginning of the niṣkevalya and the marutvatīya śastras respectively.[16]

Conjointly with the animal sacrifice of a he-goat for Agni, which sacrifice winds itself through the three services of the Soma day, a he-goat for Prajāpati is to be sacrificed (Baudh.).[17]

The drinking of the Soma

The chief interest of this festival lies in the drinking of the Soma by a hundred brahmins; each group of ten brahmins shares in one of ten Soma goblets. This rite seems technically speaking to be just a modification of the prasthita-bhakṣaṇa ceremony, which takes place during each of the three services of the Soma day.[18] In this rite ten goblets are used, one of which is for the use of the sacrificer and the others for nine of the priests. These ten personages are called *camasin-* (in possession of a *camasa-* or goblet).[19] From these goblets libations are made first;[20] then the camasins (and the adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ who, though having no goblet of their own, are entitled to drink from the goblets of the camasins on the ground that they are actively engaged in the pressing and offering of the Soma) drink from their own and from each other's goblets according to an intricate ritual. In the case of the daśapeya, however, the camasins – who here seem to drink only from their own goblets – are joined by other brahmins, called anuprasarpakas,[21] in order that from each of the ten goblets ten brahmins may drink the Soma.[22] Āp. and Hir. do not take this ceremony as a modification of the prasthita-bhakṣaṇa, but insert it as a separate rite directly after it, prescribing ten extra goblets to be used for the drinking of the hundred brahmins.

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[16] Āśv. 9,3,22. For the śastras, v. CH. nos. 200 and 196. The Navagva stanzas are RV. 5,29,12 and 3,39,5. The Navagvas and the related Daśagvas are a group of nine or ten deities of a non-figurative nature, generally associated with Indra. In the present context it is worthwhile to note that they are also styled 'our (ancient) fathers' (Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 144; Hillebrandt, *V.M.*, I, p. 34). The word Navagva is declared by Yāska (Nirukta 11,19) as "going in a company of nine"; by Bergaigne (*Religion Védique*, II, p. 145): "having nine cows"; we may also render it – as I would prefer – by "winning nine cows".

[17] For the savanīya animal sacrifice, v. CH. nos. 141, 185, 226, 246, 252. For technical details of its performance as a double animal sacrifice, v. Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, p. 319. The expression *sve dhāman* used by Baudh. (12,18:114.15) in his description of this double animal sacrifice is not fully clear. With Dumont, *o.c.*, *l.c.*, I take it to mean: "at the prescribed moment", i.e. the moment reserved for the savanīya sacrifice in the normal agniṣṭoma. In contradistinction to Baudh. Śālīki opines that the he-goat for Agni should be omitted and the hornless he-goat for Prajāpati only be sacrificed (Baudh. 22,20:145.3).

[18] Cf. CH. nos. 147d,189,230.

[19] Cf. CH. pp. 3 and 216.

[20] Cf. CH. no. 146b, d.

[21] In the normal form of the agniṣṭoma prasarpakas are mentioned, but their identity and function are rather vague. They seem to be mere spectators (cf. Āp. 11,9,8). According to Āp. 13,6,6–7 they are awarded dakṣiṇā gifts.

As stated above, the yajamāna is one of the camasins, but being a kṣatriya he is generally excluded from the Soma drink.[23] In the normal paradigma his goblet is therefore filled with a substitute for the Soma prepared from pulverized nyagrodha shoots mixed with sour milk.[24] The difficulty is aggravated by his sharing his goblet with nine brahmins, the number of ten co-sharers at each goblet implying, according to Kāty.'s reasoning, that they belong to the same jāti. Kāty. after having raised the possible solution that the yajamāna should be joined by nine other kṣatriyas, rejects this possibility in favour of the yajamāna's total exclusion: only the hundred brahmins partake of the Soma.[25] Lāṭy. 9, 2, 4 solves the problem by prescribing that the sacrificer drinks from his goblet solitarily. Baudh. and Śālīki are at variance whether the sacrificer is the hundredth or the hundred-and-first of the Soma drinkers, thus giving positive evidence for the yajamāna's partaking of the Soma.[26]

The ancestor test

In order to be qualified for the Soma drink the anuprasarpakas must be able to enumerate ten Soma drinking ancestors in uninterrupted succession.[27] This test is part of the ceremonial procession (*sarpaṇa-*) to the sadas before the prasthita-homa.[28]

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[22] According to the specification in Baudh.'s Karmānta (26,2:273.1) seven additional anuprasarpakas share in the goblet of the hotṛ and in that of the udgātṛ; the other camasins are joined each by nine anuprasarpakas. The three priests drinking from the hotṛ camasa are, besides the hotṛ himself, probably the adhvaryu and the pratiprasthātṛ (cf. Baudh. 7,15:224.15), while the camasa of the udgātṛ is joined by two other chanters, the prastotṛ and the pratihartṛ, who, though not being camasins, drink also in the normal agniṣṭoma from this goblet (cf. CH. p. 219). According to Lāṭy. 9,2,3, however, all four chanters, including the subrahmaṇya who normally seems to be excluded (cf. CH. p. 216), share in the goblet of the udgātṛ.

[23] Cf. AB. 7,28.

[24] Cf. AB. 7,30–34; Āp. 12,24,5; Kāty. 10,9,30–32.

[25] Weber supposes that Kāty.'s discussion bears only on the question whether the yajamāna's co-sharers should be rājanyas or brahmins, but in point of fact the question at issue is whether the yajamāna partakes of the Soma or is excluded from it. Kāty. decides for his exclusion. Cf. also Mādhava's discussion ad TS. 1,8,18 (BI. p. 184), closely resembling the reasoning developed by Kāty., where the same conclusion is reached at.

[26] Baudh. 22,20:145.8. In Śālīki's case we have perhaps to assume that there are 11 goblets, as is also possible in the normal paradigma (cf. CH. no. 3). For Lāṭy. we may suppose the same. This eleventh cup was then destined for the sacrificer only, without inconvenience as to the numerical dispositions. Cf. Sāyaṇa ad PB. 18,9,4: *yajamānacamasavyatiriktā daśasaṃkhyākā atra somacamasāḥ syuḥ*. There is no positive evidence that the yajamāna's goblet was filled with the nyagrodha beverage or another substitute.

Instead of enumerating ten Soma drinking ancestors the anuprasarpakas may, according to the WhYV., recite VS. 10, 30 in which the saṃsṛp gods are invoked: "by Savitṛ the Instigator, by Sarasvatī the Voice, by Tvaṣṭṛ with the forms, by Pūṣan with the cattle, by Indra (who is) with us,[29] by Bṛhaspati with the brahman, by Varuṇa with the power (*ojas-*), by Agni with the brilliance, by Soma the king, by Viṣṇu the tenth deity I move up (to the sadas)". According to Śāṅkh. 15, 14, 6–7 the genealogical requirements which the anuprasarpakas must meet are maintained, but the saṃsṛp gods are invoked also by the participants when they move up to the sadas or when they partake of the Soma. This invocation replaces in Śāṅkh.'s version the saṃsṛp iṣṭis.

Baudh.'s divergent but highly interesting presentation of the ancestor test will be quoted in full: "After the offering of the omentums of the two savana animals, they move to the sadas for the morning service. At the east door of the sadas the sūta and the grāmaṇī are standing, at its west door the kṣattṛ and the saṃgrahītṛ. They ask those who want to enter: "who is your mother, who is your grandmother." He, who succeeds in naming them down to the tenth generation, they admit. But he who does not succeed in doing so they repulse with a long bamboo cane. He, who answers: "my mother is a vaiśya woman" or "Sāvitrī (is my mother)" they admit, considering that the vaiśyas (*viś-*) are the protectors of marriage."[30]

Dakṣiṇās

The extensive list of the dakṣiṇās is given below according to the TS.; as will be seen the other schools differ only insignificantly.

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[27] According to Āśv., Śāṅkh. and Lāṭy. this requirement is extended over both the paternal and the maternal ancestry. Baudh.'s version is only interested in the matrilineal line.

[28] CH. no. 142.

[29] '*Indreṇa asme*' clearly refers, in my opinion, to the sacrificer, who is often identified with Indra. Cf. Śāṅkh. 15,14,4, where in the list of saṃsṛp gods we read '*Indrāya asmai*', "for Indra, for this one (an iṣṭi is performed)".

[30] Caland (ad Āp. 18,21,5) suggests that the name Sāvitrī refers to the famous Sāvitrī formula. This formula, when taught to the novice on the third day of the upanayana ceremony, marks the novice's (spiritual) rebirth as the son of his brahmin guru (cf. Oldenberg, *R.d.V.*, p. 466ff.). Perhaps the anuprasarpaka by referring to the Sāvitrī, which is considered the 'mother of the Vedas' (Gop B. 1,1,39) and claiming her to be his mother, showed that he had a 'birthright' to the Vedic ritual.

For the adhvaryu (and the pratiprasthātṛ, PB., JB.)	two (golden, WhYV.) mirrors (two *prāvepa-*?, MS.)
udgātṛ	a (golden, WhYV.) lotus wreath
prastotṛ pratihartṛ	a horse (a horse and a milch cow resp., MS., BP.)
brahman	12 four-year-old (pregnant, MS., WhYV., PB.) cows
maitrāvaruṇa	sterile cow (*vaśā-*)
brahmaṇācchaṃsin	a bull
neṣṭṛ	garments (a draught ox, MS.)
potṛ	garments
acchāvāka	a wagon drawn by one ox laden with barley
āgnīdhra	a draught ox (cow, WhYV.)

the PB. adds to this list:[31]

subrahmaṇya	a he-goat
unnetṛ	a heifer
grāvastut	a three-year-old bull.

No Hair-cutting

In view of the hair-cutting Soma festival the sacrificer should not have his hair cut, as is usually done at the end of a Soma sacrifice.[32] Kāty. further prescribes that afterwards the sacrificer should, during the following year (till the hair-cutting festival), not tread upon the earth; during the rest of his lifetime he should never do so without having shoes on.[33]

[31] Āp. and Hir. give these dakṣiṇās also, but instead of the paṣṭhauhī for the unnetṛ they have a *vehāyamānā* cow (a cow that miscarries, a barren cow or a cow striving after the bull (?)). Caland supposes that the three additional dakṣiṇās in Āp. and Hir. are borrowed from a still unknown Kāṭhaka source. The same may hold good for the PB., the author of which seems to have been well acquainted with the Kāṭhakas and (or) the Maitrāyaṇīyas (cf. W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, p. xxi). It is not made clear if to these dakṣiṇās the usual cows are to be added. For divergence on this point, cf. the opposed opinions of Baudhāyana and Śālīki (Baudh. 12,18:115.4; 22,20:145.11).

[32] CH. no. 256. Baudh. specifies, that after the unction neither the beard nor the hair of the head is to be cut; then, after the daśapeya, only the beard is shaved, but the hair of the head is left intact (cf. also Lāṭy. 9,2,21).

[33] Compare this latter rule with the putting on of shoes of boar skin after the chariot drive. These shoes are, according to Lāṭy. 9,1,24, changed for shoes of antilope skin when the sacrificer comes out of the final bath after the unction festival. For further observances during the year between daśapeya and keśavapanīya, see below, chapter Keśavapanīya.

ANNOTATIONS

When dealing with the saṃsṛp iṣṭis I tried to show that they represent the months of the year, the completion of which is sealed by the daśapeya festival. In this connection see the twelve dīkṣā lotuses, which are put on a par with the twelve months as previously pointed out: "there are twelve lotuses; the year (has) twelve months; having reached the year he obtains it".[34] The brāhmaṇa texts provide much further evidence for the daśapeya's relation with "obtaining", completion of the year: "the (daśapeya) sacrifice is an agniṣṭoma; the agniṣṭoma is the year; by means of the agniṣṭoma they encompassed them and put them in themselves again".[35] The twelve pregnant cows given as dakṣiṇā to the brahman priest are also put in relation to the months and the year,[36] while the total number of the dakṣiṇās – twelve or thirteen – in the WhYV. is considered a further link with the year.[37] The number seventeen of the verses composing the lauds is another means of marking this relation; they represent twelve months and five seasons.[38] The MS. makes a statement to the same effect when it teaches that the daśapeya is a *utsannayajña-* and that the *utsannayajña-* is "obtained out of the year",[39] i.e. after completion of the year. The "obtaining" of the year refers not only to the year which ten days before has been fulfilled, but in the first place to the year as a cosmological entity, the full time cycle, which again and again is to be put in motion; by obtaining the year one masters the whole of time or to put it in the words of PB. 18, 9, 7: "in the year are contained the past and the future; he (the priest) makes him (the sacrificer) prosper in regard to the past and the future". The same idea seems to be expressed by the gift of twelve pregnant cows, which are said to represent the months of the year. The calves to which they will give birth seem an adequate symbol for the twelve months of the new year, contained in embryonic form in the old year. The brāhmaṇa texts view these cows under another but easily to be connected angle: "(having given birth to their calves) they will become milch cows, they will give twelve sorts of milk, these he (the priest) brings into him (the sacrificer)", i.e. the king will be "full of sap", prosperous in the new year.[40]

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[34] MS. 4,4,7:58.19; cf. ŚB. 5,4,5,14; JB. 2,200.

[35] JB. 2,202; it is not made clear what exactly is encompassed, but the passage refers to the disintegration resulting from the unction, for which see below. It is quite conceivable that the months are meant.

[36] PB. 18,9,21; ŚB. 5,4,5,20–21.

[37] ŚB. 5,4,5,23.

[38] PB. 18,9,5; cf. also 6,2,2;10,1,7; ŚB. 6,2,2,8.

[39] MS. 4,4,7:58.14–15. The term *utsannayajña-* means, according to Keith, *ZDMG*, 66, p. 729, an 'extended', 'elaborate sacrifice'. In this case I am inclined to interpret it as passing a certain limit, i.e. of the year, indicating that the period, in which the daśapeya is performed, is a supplement to the completed year. Cf. also MS. 4,p.58.1 stating that, whereas the preceding unction festival is equal to the year (for it marks the end of the year), the daśapeya would be cut off from the year but for the special arrangements at the avabhṛtha.

The Manes seem to play a great part in the daśapeya. Their enumeration may be substituted by the invocation of the saṃsṛp gods (WhYV.) and from Śāṅkh. it appears that the moving up to the sadas or the drinking of the Soma is performed *in honour of* these gods. We are therefore entitled to assume that the enumeration of the Fathers implies that the Soma is drunk in their honour also. It is to be noted in this connection that the turning period of the year, to which the daśapeya is intimately related, has also a special significance for the cult of the Manes; I refer to the aṣṭakā celebrations in the months Taiṣa, Māgha and Phālguna, the ekāṣṭakā in the month Māgha.[41] Now the Manes are not only concerned with the past and with the other world, but, as is well-known, are actively engaged in promoting the continuation of their lineage and are asked to procure male progeny.[42] The enumeration or, as I would like to put it, the invocation of the ten generations of Soma drinking forefathers is therefore quite in line with the idea noted above: at the moment when the year is rounded off and closed the continuity must be secured; the year virtually contains the past and the future, as the PB. has it, and this quality must be activated by means of the ritual. In this line of thought some importance must also be attached to the invocation of the Navagvas, divine beings whose name means "having or winning nine cows". They are styled "our (ancient) fathers", and help Indra in winning the cows of the Paṇis. Particularly interesting here is that we are told that they sung praises with the pressing stones during ten months and this song of praise is said to win back the sun from the waters, a feat easily comparable to the situation under discussion, not only on account of the months (cf. the ten saṃsṛps), but specially in view of the winning back of the sun, which has gone under in the waters, just as the king and his prototype Varuṇa do in the unction water.[43]

When dealing with the unction festival we observed that the turning of the year is marked by the rebirth of the cosmos and of the king, who incorporates the cosmos. The moment of the cosmic rebirth, however, is ambivalent: the year is completed, the universe is fully integrated, "the embryo has been brought together from the regions of space", but at this very moment of the greatest concentration disintegration sets in, the new year must again be pieced together from its elements,[44] Varuṇa and the king again fall into ten parts. It is as though the protecting shell, which encompasses the universe, is completed and at the same moment broken up. This idea seems to me to be eloquently expressed in the comparison of the rājasūya or the unction with Indra's killing of Vṛtra:[45] "Vṛtra's variegated forms went to the earth, the stars went to the sky. Through the shining of the stars (or: in the space between heaven and earth) the lotus springs up. In that he fastens on himself a wreath of lotuses, he fastens on himself that manifestation of Vṛtra, royalty."[46] In this way the encompassing quality inherent in Vṛtra is again restored and localized in the king-sacrificer by means of the dīkṣā lotuses.[47]

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[40] MS. 4,4,9:59.12; PB. 18,9,21; cf. also ŚB. 5,4,5,20–21.

[41] Cf. Hillebrandt, *Rituallit.*, p. 94f.; W. Caland, *Altindische Ahnenkult* (Leiden, 1893), p. 167. For the ekāṣṭakā as the turn of the year TS. 7,4,8,1–2; Macdonell-Keith, *V.I.*, II, p. 157.

[42] Cf., e.g., Āp. ŚS. 1,9,12.10,11; Oldenberg, *R.d.V.*, p. 332. For the intimate relation of the Manes with fertility, in general, cf. Eliade, *Traité*, p. 300f.

[43] RV. 5,45,7.11.

Safeguarding the wholeness of the powers accumulated in the completed year against disintegration is probably also the purpose of the use of the vāravantīya sāman in the yajñāyajñīya laud. PB. 5, 3, 12 states that the performers of the year long gavām ayana sacrifice use it in the mahāvrata festival at the end of the year, for "the vāravantīya is cattle; cattle is a means of quenching (or: bringing to rest, *śānti-*), from the year that has been quieted (or: come to rest, *śānta-*) they thereby rise". Now the vāravantīya sāman, on account of its pseudo-etymological association with the root *vṛ-*, to cover, encompass, is also used in the yajñāyajñīya laud as an expiation when the Soma trough bursts and the sacrifice is thus in danger of "trickling away"; the vāravantīya then "covers up the fissure in the sacrifice".[48] I think, that, besides the incidental identification with cattle, the notion of "covering up the fissure" must be kept in mind to explain the vāravantīya's use at the end of the gavām ayana year: the forces accumulated in the completed year are at the beginning of the new year in danger of disintegration; in case of uncontrolled dispersion, "trickling away", these forces would become evil powers. By means of the vāravantīya, however, the year is made *śānta-*, come to rest, sealed off.[49] It is reasonable to view the use of this sāman in the daśapeya against the same background.

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[44] For the disintegration of Prajāpati (the year) and his joint-by-joint reconstruction, cf. ŚB. 1,6,3,35–36; 10,1,1,1–3. Also L. Silburn, *Instant et cause*, p. 52f.

[45] Cf. e.g. PB., 18,11,1.

[46] PB. 18,9,6 (cf. also Caland's translation); MS. 4,4,7:58.16.

[47] In the version of the ŚB. these lotuses indeed contain the whole universe: the flowers represent the sky, the stalks the atmosphere and the roots the earth (ŚB. 5,4,5,14).

[48] PB. 9,6,11.

Moreover, when dealing with the daśapeya itself, the brāhmaṇa texts tell us that Varuṇa's *bhargas-* (lustre), or Indra's *indriya- vīrya-*, or Varuṇa's *indriya- vīrya-* fell asunder in three parts, which became the seer Bhṛgu,[50] the śrāyantīya sāman and the holy river Sarasvatī.[51] All three parts are regenerated and put together again in the daśapeya: the hotṛ belongs to the lineage of Bhṛgu, the śrāyantīya is used in the third pṛṣṭha laud and the Sarasvatī is present in the form of the vasatīvarī water (this latter part, which is also said simply to have entered the waters, is according to the PB. restored by the dīkṣā lotuses).[52]

The disintegration of Varuṇa (or Indra) seems to be preferentially formulated as the loss of the *indriya- vīrya-*. This force deserves attention. The importance of winning it (back) by the daśapeya is stressed in various ways. For instance PB. 18, 9, 5, after having established the numerical equality of the seventeen versed lauds and the year, states that "having got the *indriya- vīrya-* out of the year, he obtains (the *i.- v.-*)." TB. 1, 8, 2, 2 equates the hundred Soma drinkers to the hundred *āyus-*, the hundred *indriya- vīrya-* of man, which are thus restored to the sacrificer. The vāravantīya sāman is also frequently connected with the *indriya- vīrya-*;

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[49] On *śānta-* in this passage cf. D. J. Hoens, *Śānti* (Thesis Utrecht, 1951), p. 167. The intention, according to Hoens, is that the evil powers of the year are conjured, so that the year is a good and auspicious one. So far so good. But it must also be taken into account, that the word *śānta-* here implies that the year is not only 'appeased' but also in a concrete sense completed, brought to rest. The profane fact of the year's ending is consecrated by the ritual performance of the vāravantīya and given transcendent effect. In this double sense being *śānta-* (completed and 'appeased'), the year is a power for good, which will manifest itself in the *next* year making it a good and auspicious one.

[50] Bhṛgu is considered the son of Varuṇa, ŚB. 11,6,1,1; also AB. 3,34,1. A. Weber, *ZDMG*, 9, p. 240ff.

[51] MS. 4,3,9:49.5; TB. 1,8,2,4; PB. 18,9,1–2. We may note here the shifting between Indra and his specific quality, the *indriya- vīrya-* on the one and Varuṇa and his *bhargas-* on the other side. In the saṃsṛps we can also observe this phenomenon: Varuṇa occupies the central place in most of the lists of saṃsṛp gods, but Śāṅkh. does not mention him, his place being taken by Indra. Though there are clear instances of collision and syncretism of the cults and mythologies specific to Indra and Varuṇa (cf. e.g. the sacrifice of Indra's sūtavaśā cow, which, as shown, was relegated to the end of the unction festival in favour of Varuṇa), it remains to be investigated, on a wider scale than the scope of the present research permits, if both mythologies were not intimately related to each other. This is argued, for instance, by Johansson (*Dhiṣaṇā*, p. 157), who links Varuṇa with Vṛtra and calls Indra a "Wechselgott zu Varuṇa".

[52] Baudh. reserves a part of the Sarasvatī water, drawn for the unction, for this purpose. Cf. also JB. 2,201, where the Sarasvatī part is said to be represented in the unction water itself; to this effect also MS. 4,3,9:49.7.

the two are identified, while elsewhere this sāman is used in order to encompass the *indriya- vīrya-*. As will appear this connection is also present in the daśapeya.[53] As to the meaning of this force in the daśapeya the TB. gives a clear hint: the ten bull calves that serve as the price for the Soma must not be castrated, so as to further the Indra force.[54] The same idea may be traced in relation to the śrāyantīya and the vāravantīya sāmans. These sāmans are said to be a means of "propping up" and of encompassing the *indriya- vīrya-*, when used in the daśapeya.[55] We are also told that Prajāpati's seed, which he lost on account of his incestuous desire for his daughter, formed the Mānasa lake in the Himālaya; the gods surrounded it with a fire, the Maruts blew on it and by means of the śrāyantīya the gods "propped it up" (*aśrīṇan*).[56] From Prajāpati's seed, after this treatment, the animals sprung forth, while the charcoals (*aṅgāra-*) produced the Aṅgirases.[57] The account of this myth concludes with the statement, that the śrāyantīya is a means of propagating offspring and obtaining cattle, while he who knows this myth will obtain sons (*vīra-*) and cattle. From these considerations it will become clear that the *indriya- vīrya-* here is the potency concerned with the continuity of the generations; it connects the subsequent time cycles.[58] At the turn of the year it is in danger of dispersion, but "propped up" and "encompassed" it is restored and its adequate function is secured.

Having assessed the general significance of this Soma festival, we may proceed to appraise against this background the distinctive trait of this form of the agniṣṭoma, viz. the Soma drinking ceremony with a hundred participants. In the first place it is to be observed, that here also the idea of reconstruction is clearly present. TB. 1, 8, 2, 2, already cited above, brings the hundred Soma drinkers into relation with the hundred *āyus*- and the hundred *indriya- vīrya-* of man. On account of the "ritual arithmetic", already met with before, we may readily assume that man, i.e. the sacrificer, is the hundredth (or the hundred and first) – as he is actually said to be in Baudh.'s Dvaidhasūtra –, that is: he occupies the pivotal place in the company of the Soma drinkers and at the same time encompasses them and unites them in his person, just as he integrates the hundred *āyus*- and *indriya- vīrya-*. The process of dispersion and reintegration is in the symbolism of the saṃsṛp iṣṭis articulated on the number ten. This number is resumed in the daśapeya, to which it has given its name, as the numerical principle of the drinking ceremony, and so gives unmistakable further evidence for the case presented here.

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[53] Cf. JB. 2,202;1,352; PB. 9,5,9; 18,6,16.

[54] TB. 1,8,2,2; *muṣkarā bhavanti, sendratvāya*. Cf. also the bull given to the brāhmaṇācchaṃsin: *rāṣṭram evendriyāvy akaḥ*, ib., 4.

[55] PB. 18,11,4;MS.4,4,9:60.6.

[56] Elsewhere it is Prajāpati, who, exhausted after his creative activity 'braced himself fully by progeny, cattle and *indriya-*' by means of this sāman (PB. 9,6,7). Also Indra after his Vṛtra combat and the rājasūya sacrificer after his unction (PB. 18,11,1.4).

[57] JB. 3,262–64 (Caland, *Auswahl*, no. 207); PB. 8,2,10–11. According AB. 3,34,1 Bhṛgu was also among the beings produced from Prajāpati's seed.

[58] Cf. also the identification of the embryo with *indriya-*, TS. 2,1,2,6; TB. 1,8,3,3. This function can also be put in terms of space; the *indriya- vīrya-* is considered a force pervading the universe, comparable with the axis mundi. This is demonstrated by the myth relating the distribution among the gods of their specific qualities; what is left over is Indra's part, the indriya force. The latter rises upwards through the three worlds. Only by rising to the third world Indra is able to master it. (MS. 2,2,8:21. 15–17;KS.10,10: 136.15–18).

The drinking ceremony can, in the opinion of the present writer, best be described as a rite of communion of the king on one side and the other participants on the other, by means of which they establish a strong bond between themselves.[59] This point was rightly stressed by Weber, though the style "Eideshelfer" given by him to the anuprasarpakas does not hold good as there is no evidence of an oath whatever. Nevertheless the comparison with the tānūnaptra rite, suggested by Weber, who fails, however, to give it sufficient substance, has much to recommend it. In this rite the sacrificer and the priests touch and smell ghee, which has in four or five portions been ladled into a brass vessel, and which afterwards is added to the meals of the sacrificer.[60] The rite is intended to establish an indissoluble bond between the sacrificer and the priests. It is explained by a myth[61] that the gods separated into four or five groups; fearing to be overpowered by the asuras they again united, placing their selves (*tanū-*) together in 'Varuṇa's house' (or: in Indra), so that the one who would abandon the union would lose his *tanū-*. The four or five groups of gods are represented in the rite by the four or five portions of ghee in the brass vessel. The priests and the sacrificer by touching and smelling the ghee establish an alliance, which is a recast of the cosmical integration or, in mythological phraseology, the reunion of the gods. The fact that the ghee afterwards may be eaten by the sacrificer points to his being the pivotal personage of the rite and the encompasser of the other participants. In this connection it deserves attention that, according to ŚB. 3, 4, 2, 15, the gods laid down their selves in Indra, this being the reason why the sacrificer – who is identical with Indra – should have the ghee added to his food.

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[59] Compare the sacramental meal, on which see v. d. Leeuw, *La Religion*, p. 349f.

[60] Cf. CH. no. 41; Āp. ŚS. 11,1; Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 29.

[61] Cf. Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 73, and the passages there cited.

Though the oath element is not manifest in the drinking ceremony of the daśapeya, the two rites correspond in at least two essential points: 1st, concentration of dispersed elements and integration in the sacrificer, 2nd, this is enacted by the participants when they together partake in some way or other of food (ghee) or drink (Soma). As to the indissoluble bond between the sacrificer and the other participants, which is the avowed purpose of the tānūnaptra rite, I shall presently try to show that it is also implied in the daśapeya drinking ceremony. But first the ambiguous position of the royal sacrificer towards the Soma drink requires consideration. In the theory of the sūtra authors he is even excluded from the drinking of Soma. That the Soma did not always belong exclusively to the brahmins is rightly argued by Weber, and Baudh. gives evidence that in the case of the daśapeya not only the royal sacrificer but even commoners partook of the Soma. The uncertainty as to the king's drinking Soma seems to me inherent in the nature of the relation Soma – king and may therefore well belong to the original state of things. We already observed, that the king and Soma are intimately related and even identical, and it is this fact, which occasions the uncertainty about the king's right to the Soma drink. When the king drinks Soma, this act practically amounts to his consuming his own self and thus presents two aspects: on the one hand it may be considered an act of invigoration; on the other, however, it comes near to self-annihilation. On this point we may conveniently compare the discussion in AB. 7, 26, dealing with the problem whether the sacrificer should consume his part of the offering substance or not. There it is stated that the sacrificer is identical with his part of the offering substance. The solution given is that the brahman priest (or the purohita), who is "half the self" of the sacrificer should consume the sacrificer's part; thus the sacrificer eats his portion in a "hidden way" (*parokṣeṇa*). In this way the two opposite aspects of the act are given due weight: the danger involved in consuming one's own self is eliminated but on the other hand the beneficent effect is secured to the sacrificer. A like solution is given by the AB. to the problem of the king's partaking of the Soma: the king drinks the Soma in a "hidden way", when drinking the beverage prepared from nyagrodha shoots and fruits, which beverage is considered to represent the Soma.[62] This procedure opened the way for the final decision in this ambiguous matter – the total exclusion of the kṣatriya from the Soma drink. This exclusion is not primarily conditioned by an

[62] AB. 7,31,3.

alleged inferiority of the king towards the brahmins, as is often – for instance by Weber – suggested.

From this excursus it appears that, whether in a "hidden way" or directly, the king together with the priests partakes of the Soma. Further it must be kept in mind that Soma stands for kingship and is even identical with the king (or the sacrificer in general). When dealing with the unction it was seen that the king is made into the spring of the life-giving and nourishing fluids and the pivot of their circulation through the universe; the meritorious king is said to be "full of sweet milk".[63] Now the sap of the Soma plant is the manifestation par excellence of the life-giving principle.[64] The Soma drinking ceremony, in which the sacrificer is joined by a hundred participants, enacts the permeating of the universe by the life-giving fluid; this fluid originates from the king and is even identical with the king himself. The king under the form of the invigorating Soma-sap pervades the cosmos.

As already seen, the drinking ceremony lacks the character of an oath of allegiance, but it clearly establishes a strong bond between the sacrificer and the other participants.[65] This is unmistakably evidenced by Baudh.'s version, according to which also those are admitted, who have a vaiśya mother on the ground that the people (*viśaḥ*) are the guardians of marriage. I consider this the key to the significance of the drinking ceremony: the king communicates with his people by permeating them with his own essence, the life-giving Soma sap, and this communion has the character of a hieros gamos.[66] It has already been noted that the people, the *viś-*, are related to the king as the womb to the embryo. Thus the ceremony under discussion purports to be the king's entering and diffusion in th[illegible] womb of the people to be reborn from it. To be reborn from it – for the king is not to lose himself completely in the communion, as is indicated by the numerical arrangements, which guarantee his pivotal and encompassing position in the process of the Somic communion. Moreover there is the general idea that the sacrificer buys the various parts of his body back from the officiants in the Soma ritual by means of the dakṣiṇās given to them.[67] Perhaps this is the reason why the dakṣiṇās for the daśapeya are given in such a detailed way.

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[63] MS. 4,4,8:59.13; PB. 18,9,21.

[64] Cf. e.g. Soma's identification with the seed, ŚB. 1,9,2,9; TB. 2,7,4,1.

[65] Elsewhere, in Kauś.'s account of the unction, there actually is a mutual oath of allegiance undertaken by the king and the purohita who performs the unction. The king and the priest both pour water into a cup; then they exchange their cups and the purohita says: "Merit be common to both of us; demerit be common to both of us." The king answers: "The demeritorious act (be only assigned) to him, who has done it" (Kauś. 17,5–7). Weber rightly qualifies this rite as a "Treuschwur". He also brings into the picture the eating of a cake. This latter act is however separated by other rites from the oath and probably has nothing to do with it; this cake is eaten by the king only and not shared, as Weber erroneously deduces from Kauś. 7,1, by the king and the brahman. Here it is, however, interesting that an oath of allegiance, combined with the unction and sealed by the exchange – though not drinking in common – of water, is evidenced.

[66] In this line of thought the matrilineal character of Baudh.'s ancestor test fits in very well. The password or name *Sāvitri*, which is highly suggestive of conception and birth, possibly serves the same purpose. On communion as a marriage, see v. d. Leeuw, *La Religion*, p. 360f.

It is part of the history of Vedic ritual in general, that the people as participant in the drinking ceremony were superseded by the brahmins. The shift from the *viś-* to the *brahman-* need not cause surprise, as both the *brahman-* and the *viś-* are considered the womb of royalty, and this shift must have been a possibility from the outset. The growing complicatedness of the ritual will have made it the exclusive territory of the brahminical experts, the specialists of rebirth out of *brahman-*, who superseded in due course other participants in all sacrificial functions. That, however, the daśapeya has retained some of its importance in regard to the people is also shown by PB. 18, 10, 9, where it is stated that the seventeenfold lauds of the daśapeya, which are said to stand for the people, are enclosed on both sides by a twenty-one-fold laud (to wit: the last one of the unction festival and the first of the hair-cutting festival); the twenty-one-fold stoma standing for royalty, the people are thus encircled by royalty and will not depart from it.[68]

The complex of ideas behind the daśapeya: the reconstruction of space and time securing the safe course of the new period, when disruption sets in at the beginning of the new year, and the concretization of this process in the marriage-like communion of the king and the people; all this places the daśapeya in the line of the royal rites. It is, however, not to be discerned whether the unction and the daśapeya were from the outset linked up with each other. It is conceivable that the daśapeya has a separate history, but it may be assumed that its roots lie within the origins of the Soma ritual. The drinking ceremony seems even to represent an older, more original stage in the development of the Soma ritual than the present prasthita-bhakṣaṇa; the prasarpakas in the ordinary agniṣṭoma, whose vague role seems to be limited to that of mere onlookers, though they are important enough to share in the dakṣiṇās, are probably the faded remnants of the original participants in the Somic rites, such as they are still met with in the daśapeya. That such a ritual as the daśapeya was always preceded by a consecration, a dīkṣā, stands to reason. Perhaps the unction, which, as seen, shows a great likeness to the Soma dīkṣā, took the place of this consecration – or doubled the consecratory rites proper to the daśapeya (saṃsṛps, lotus-wreath) – and it is even conceivable that the unction, though not in its present elaborated form embedded in the abhiṣecanīya Soma festival, has always provided the consecration for the royal daśapeya festival of communion between king and people, in which the heavenly fluid was set circulating through the universe.[69] This shows us a coherent complex of rites of great richness: the king is manifested in the unction as the source and pivot of the life-giving fluids streaming along his body in their course between heaven and earth; in the daśapeya he communicates the heavenly fluid, and thereby himself, to his people and to the whole universe, with which he enters in this way into a marriage-like bond.[70]

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[67] Cf. the formulas for giving the dakṣiṇās to the priests, Āp. ŚS. 13,6,4–6; JB. 2,54 (Caland, *Auswahl*, no. 124).

[68] For the identification seventeen-fold stoma – people (*viś-*), cf. PB. 2,7,5;2,10,4. By a shift, frequently to be observed, between the encompassing and the pivotal aspect this identification is also made with the terms reversed: royalty – seventeen-fold stoma, people – twenty-one-fold stoma. Then it is the royalty which is surrounded and brought forth out of the middle of the *viś-* (MS. 4,4,10:62.6; TB. 1,8,8,4–5). Moreover the *viś-* is not only connected with the image of the womb, but also with the phallus, as the *viś-* was created from Prajāpati's membrum virile together with the seventeen-fold stoma (PB. 6,1,10).

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[69] This may also explain why Lāṭy. says, when beginning his description of the daśapeya, that the sacrificer is *taddikṣita-*, which in its context can only refer to the unction festival as a whole, as neither saṃsṛps nor lotuses are mentioned.

[70] In contradistinction to the unction, the daśapeya drinking ceremony seems not to have made much way in the development of Hindu ritual. The reason for its disappearance may be attributed to the fact, that by the elimination of the people as the drinking partner of the king it lost most of its significance. As a rite of communion between the king and the priests its place was easily taken by the corresponding rites of the normal – or rather normalized – agniṣṭoma. However in the area of India's cultural influence a near relative – though certainly not a direct descendant – of the drinking ceremony may be recognized in the Siamese Thü-nam ceremony (cf. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London 1931, pp. 193–9). All the officials and members of the royal family must drink from water in which the regalia have been dipped and thereby swear an oath of allegiance. The ceremony is performed twice a year, at the beginning of the new year and when half the year has passed. The comparison finds moreover support in the fact that the water is not only pernicious to the backslider but will also give prosperity in this and the next world to the loyal servant (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 197).

XXIII

OFFERINGS OF THE QUARTERS OF SPACE

(*DIŚĀM AVEṢṬAYAḤ*)

TS. 1,8,19; TB. 1,8,3,1; MS. 2,6,13:72.14–17; 4,4,9:60.7–13; KS. 15,9:216.8–11; ŚB. 5,5,1.
Baudh. 12,19:115.6–10; Āp. 18,21,8–11; Hir. 13,7,17–20; Kāty. 15, 9,1–10.

This is an iṣṭi consisting of five offerings, which, according to Āp., forms the breaking-up iṣṭi for the daśapeya.[1] Though for each of the five offerings a separate dakṣiṇā is prescribed, they have in common their framework (*tantra-*); they form technically a unity.[2] The WhYV. specifies to which priests these dakṣiṇās must be given.

The five offerings are:

Offerings	*God*	*Dakṣiṇā*	*Priest*
1. a cake on 8 potsherds	Agni	gold	āgnīdhra
2. a cake on 11 potsherds	Indra	a bull	brahman
(alternatively, acc. to WhYV. caru	Soma	a brown ox)	
3. caru	Viśve Devāḥ	a tawney heifer (a speckled ox, WhYV.)	hotṛ
4. āmikṣā	Mitra and Varuṇa	a barren cow	both adhvaryus[3]
5. caru	Bṛhaspati	a white-backed ox	brahman

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[1] For the breaking-up iṣṭi (udavasānīyā) see CH. no. 259. According to Hir. and Vārāha ŚS. 3,3,4,31–32 it is performed on the same day as the daśapeya. Baudh., however, has it performed probably on the following day; anyhow not as the daśapeya's udavasānīyā, which latter iṣṭi he mentions separately. This seems also to be the opinion

When the cakes and carus have been prepared and placed on the vedi the Bṛhaspati caru is placed in the middle. The MS., followed by Āp. and Hir., makes what is placed in the middle dependent on the class of the sacrificer; if he is a brahmin, it is the Bṛhaspati caru; if he is a kṣatriya: the Indra cake; and in case he is a vaiśya, it is the caru for the Viśve Devāḥ. In the WhYV. this differentiation is not made. The WhYV. states precisely that the other four offerings must be placed at the four points of the compass: to the east Agni's offering is placed, to the south the Indra cake, to the west the caru for the Viśve Devāḥ and to the north the āmikṣā for Mitra and Varuṇa.

After each of the first four chief offerings ghee is poured on the central offering,[4] or, as the WhYV. has it, the remainder of these four offerings are added to the central Bṛhaspati caru, which is therefore called in the WhYV. the "five-holed" caru (*pañcabila-*).[5]

This iṣṭi can also be performed independently of the rājasūya. Its purpose is then to provide the sacrificer with food (MS., Hir., WhYV.) or tejas (TB., Āp.) and it may even open for him the road to heaven (Hir.).

ANNOTATIONS

The offerings of the quarters of space (in order to remove them) are intended to form the counterpart of the "mounting the quarters of space" ceremony. In the latter ceremony the sacrificer mounts by five steps to the zenith; now, he descends to earth and thus gets a firm footing. Otherwise he would be lost and even go mad.[6] The two ceremonies represent the two joints in the eternal cyclical process of rising to the zenith and descending to the earth. Having gone ritually through these two terminal stations, the sacrificer secures his safe journey along the road "to heaven and back to the earth". In this connection atttention is

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of Kāty., who places it in the light (first) half of the following month, viz. according to my computation Caitra (Kāty.'s comm., however, followed by Weber, opines that it is Vaiśākha).

[2] Cf. Hir. 13,3,11.

[3] That is, acc. to Kāty.'s comm., the adhvaryu and the āgnīdhra; not, as usual, the adhvaryu and the pratiprasthātṛ.

[4] Accoding to Baudh. 22,21:145.16 ghee is also poured a fifth time, on the (rest of the) Bṛhaspati caru after the main offering has been made; Śālīki rejects this view.

[5] A pañcabila-caru is also mentioned by Āp. ŚS. 20, 25,1–2. There it is a caru dedicated to the same gods but served on one sthalī with five holes – four to the four points of the compass and one in the middle –, each of which contains a pap for one of the gods.

[6] TB. 1,8,3,1; MS. 4,4,9:60.7–10; ŚB. 5,5,1,2.

attracted by the mentioning of "Aryaman's path", which is represented by the white back of the dakṣiṇā ox connected with the offering for Bṛhaspati.[7] Aryaman is often identified with the sun,[8] and his path seems to be the course of the sun;[9] a caru offered to Aryaman is recommended for one who wishes to reach heaven.[10] So the sacrificer is enabled to imitate the sun in its unremitting course to the zenith and back.. He becomes equal to the sun as the encompasser and articulator of time and space. Therefore the whole universe is drawn into the picture of this rite; not only the regions of space, but also the seasons, the gods, and the elements of the ritual,[11] all bound together by the number five, which clearly expresses here the totality of the cosmos.[12] In this connection it is not astonishing that the ox, whose white back represents Aryaman's path, is given to the brahman priest and that it is within the framework of the Bṛhaspati offering that Aryaman is mentioned. The sun, moving along the central axis, pervading and encompassing in its course the universe, was clearly considered a most expressive manifestation of the brahman force.[13] This brahman force is figured in the present iṣṭi by the Bṛhaspati caru standing in the centre – or rather at the top – of the four other offerings placed at the four points of the compass. Now the Bṛhaspati caru represents the sacrificer.[14] After each offering the central offering receives a ghee portion or even, as the WhYV. prescribes, the remainders of the offering substance. In exactly the same way the sacrificer is supposed to receive food from the four quarters, while remaining firmly established in his (central) position (*viṣṭāvrājin*- ŚB. 5, 5, 1, 12). In this way concentration of the universe in the sacrificer is evoked. We are reminded here of the imagery figured by the brahman proclamation: the king in the centre emanating and resorbing the brahman power to and from the quarters. This comparison may also explain why the brahman priest is twice mentioned for a dakṣiṇā: once in connection with the central offering and again with a peripheral one; the two brahman dakṣiṇās correspond with the two phases of the brahman force: the central emanating and resorbing phase and the peripheral emanated one.

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[7] ŚB. 5,5,1,12.

[8] Cf. TS. 2,3,4,1.2; Sāyaṇa ad ŚB. 5,5,1,12 renders Aryaman with Sūrya; in general see Hillebrandt, *V.M.*², II, p. 69ff.

[9] Weber (p. 84, no. 2) interprets Aryaman's path as the Milky Way, but v. Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, p. 72.

[10] Caland, *W.O.*, no. 171.

[11] Cf. ŚB. 5,4,1,3–8; 5,5,1,3–7.

[12] Cf. e.g. TS. 1,5,2,1 where the sacrifice, cattle and man himself are said to be fivefold.

[13] Cf. ŚB. 14,1,2,15 where Brahmaṇaspati is identified with the sun, and ChUp. 3,19, 1–4 explaining the birth of the brahman = the sun from the world-egg.

[14] Cf. TB. 1,8,3,1 *yajamāna-devatỳo vai Bṛhaspati.* MS., prescribing that only in case the sacrificer is a brahmin the Bṛhaspati caru is the central one, at least stresses the intimate connection of the sacrificer with the central position. The Taittirīyakas and the followers of the WhYV. clearly consider the sacrificer a brahmin, being reborn out of the sacrifice, and proclaimed thus.

From the above it will be clear that the present iṣṭi, as well as the "mounting the quarters of space" ceremony, gives expression to the ideas of the cyclical process of integration and disintegration, rising and descending. The opposition of the two rites, in my opinion, resides in the fact that, whereas in the mounting ceremony the sacrificer, by making a step in each direction, goes himself to the five quarters, he remains, in the present iṣṭi, in his place in the centre, while the quarters come to him. In the former rite the sacrificer as it were disperses himself among the regions of space, or becomes the embryo of the regions. In the latter rite he "buys himself off" from the regions of space, the seasons, etc.[15] The idea of "buying off" corresponds with birth, as for instance is shown by the fact that when the Soma is purchased, the Soma and the sacrificer are considered newly born.[16]

Thus the image evoked by the *diśām aveṣṭayaḥ* is that of the king who, being born in the midst of the universe, puts off his caul, the enveloping regions of space, to the points of the compass, from whence in turn the regions tender him their food (which will ripen in the coming year).

[15] ŚB. 5,5,1,2. Perhaps also from the priests, who are given dakṣiṇās.

[16] Cf. the verses recited when the Soma is taken over from the Soma merchant: CH. no. 34; MS. 1,3,6:15.1. As to the birth of the sacrificer, cf. TS. 6,1,3,2–3; MS. 3,6,7: 68.17. Cf. also MS. 2,5,9:59.4: "he buys them (the young cattle) from their birthplace" (*svād evainān yoner niṣkrīṇāti*), which passage is suggestive of the relation between "buying off" and birth.

XXIV

SACRIFICE OF TWO ANIMALS (*DVIPAŚUBANDHAḤ*)

TS. 1,8,19; TB. 1,8,3,2–3; MS. 2,6,13:73.4; 4,4,9:60.18–61.1; ŚB. 5,5,2,8–10. Baudh. 12,19:115.11–14; Āp. 18,21,12–13; Hir. 13,7,21–22; Kāty. 15, 9,17–19.

The Taittirīyakas, placing this sacrifice directly after the diśām aveṣṭayaḥ, include it in the cycle of the unction and daśapeya.[1] The Maitrāyaṇīyas, however, perform it a year later after the hair-cutting festival,[2] and so does the WhYV. too, where such a sacrifice is prescribed after the prayujāṃ havīṃṣi, which are meant to mark – symbolically or actually – a year's time.[3]

This animal sacrifice consists in the offering of (acc. to the Taittirīyakas): a dew-lapped goat in kid for Aditi, or for the Ādityas; a dappled heifer for the Maruts.

According to the Maitrāyaṇīyas the heifer for the Maruts is also in calf.[4] The followers of the WhYV. immolate two pregnant cows: a reddish white one for Aditi (or the Ādityas) and a piebald one for the Maruts or the Viśve Devāḥ.[5]

Whereas in the BlYV. this is one sacrifice with two victims, executed along the lines of the animal sacrifice with eleven victims,[6] the WhYV. makes it two separate sacrifices.

As one or both victims are in young special provisions are necessary for the disposal of the foetus, parts of which are offered together with parts of the victims. Thus the WhYV. expressly prescribes that the victims should be immolated as "eight-legged" (*aṣṭāpadī-*) victims.[7] This will also be the case in the BlYV., though it is not explicitly stated.[8]

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[1] Āp. has it performed on the same day as the daśapeya, after the diśām aveṣṭayaḥ (cf. also comm. ad Hir. 13,7,21). Hir. places it on the following day. Baudh's. opinion probably is that it is performed on the second day after the daśapeya.

[2] Cf. Vārāha ŚS. 3,3,4,43.

[3] Kāty. prescribes its performance on a new-moon day, which according to the comm. is the new-moon day in the month Vaiśākha. (Acc. to my computation this would rather be the month before, viz. Caitra). Śāṅkh. has borrowed this sacrifice from the WhYV. but places it immediately after the *diśām aveṣṭayaḥ* (15,14,13).

[4] The KS. does not mention this sacrifice.

[5] The alternative Viśve Devāḥ for the Maruts seems to be taken over in the wrong order by Śāṅkh. ŚS. 15, 14, 13 where Viśve Devāḥ is the alternative for the Ādityas.

[6] The ekādaśinī sacrifice provides the prototype for all animal sacrifices with more than one victim; cf. Āp. ŚS. 24,3,36; for the ekādaśinī rules cf. Āp. ŚS. 14,5–7.

As to the summons and answers – to wit the summons of the adhvaryu to the āgnīdhra to call out his "*astu śrauṣaṭ*" (*āśrāvaṇa-*) the latter's answer: "*astu śrauṣaṭ*" (*pratyāśrāvaṇa-*), and the adhvaryu's orders to the maitrāvaruṇa and the hotṛ, in view of the recital of the inviting and offering verses (*saṃpraiṣa-*) – exchanged before each oblation of the yajati type, the Taittirīyakas enjoin that they be made in a loud voice – as is normal[9] – for an Aditi oblation, in a low voice for a Marut offering.[10]

The WhYV., prescribing two separate sacrifices, accordingly mentions two dakṣiṇās, viz. two cows equal to the immolated ones. The BlYV. texts do not mention a dakṣiṇā. Probably it is to be inferred that the dakṣiṇā is the same as that prescribed for the paradigmatical animal sacrifice, viz. a boon.[11]

ANNOTATIONS

This animal sacrifice seems mainly to be concerned with the relation between the king-sacrificer and the people. This is particularly stressed by the TB., putting Aditi on a par with dominion (*rāṣṭra-*), and the Maruts with the people (*viś-*): the high voiced āśrāvaṇa for the Aditi victim, as opposed to the low voiced in the case of the Marut cow, and the priority given to the Aditi victim in the sacrificial dealings are, according to the TB., intended to effectuate the superiority of the dominion and the submissiveness of the people. Moreover the fact that the Aditi goat is in young, while the Marut cow in the Taittirīyaka version is not, further underlines the concentration of power in the royalty: "the embryo is power (*indriya-*), he (the priest) makes the royalty possessive of power (*indriyāvin-*); the Marut victim is not in young, the Maruts are the people, he (the priest) makes the people powerless".[12] When dealing with the daśapeya it was apparent that the *indriya- vīrya-* is the potency concerned with the continuity of the generations and of the time cycles. This regenerating potency is concentrated in the king, whose rebirth at the beginning of the new year – which is exactly the period concerned here – coïncides with or rather symbolizes the renewal of the whole cosmos.

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[7] For the special rules for an aṣṭāpadī victim, cf. Kāty. 25,10,2ff.; ŚB. 4,5,2,1ff. The sacrifice of a pregnant victim is to be found in Āp. ŚS. 9,18,16–19,14.

[8] Cf. Āp. ŚS. 9,19,14.

[9] Cf. Āp. ŚS. 24,1,10.

[10] The relevant phases of the sacrifice are: the offering of the omentums, the sacrificial cakes, and the chief oblations; cf. Schwab, *Thieropfer*, no. 84,87–93. Baudh.'s dvaidhasūtra (22, 21 :146.3–6) records divergence between Baudh. himself, Śālīki and Aupamanyava on, if my interpretation is right, the demarcation between the loud- and the low-voice zones: Baudh. places this demarcation directly after the Aditi āśrāvaṇa; Śālīki, however, directly after the Marut āśrāvaṇa, while Aupamanyava seems to prescribe that all mantras connected with an Aditi offering are loud-voiced and all those connected with a Marut offering low-voiced.

[11] Cf. Āp. ŚS. 7,21,5; Hir's paddhati ad 13,7,22 (pag. 191). Perhaps it is to be inferred that this dakṣiṇā is supplemented by the *aṣṭāpruṣ-* gold, prescribed by Āp. 9,19,11 for the sacrifice of a victim, found to be in young.

The MS. and the WhYV., in whose version both victims are in young, also deal with the king's relation to the people as far as the Marut victim is concerned, confirming what appeared so far: the relation king-people is conceived of as that between the embryo and its place of birth. This relation is expressed and effectuated by the pregnant Marut victim: "he (the priest) makes him (the sacrificer) thus the embryo of the people (*viś-*)".[13] A parallel idea is given expression to by the immolation of the Aditi victim: the king is made into the embryo of Aditi.[14] This practically means that the king is made into the embryo of heaven and earth, Aditi being connected not only with the earth but also with heaven. He may even be made into the embryo of the whole of the universe, as is explicitly stated by ŚB. 5, 5, 2, 10 when explaining that if the two victims are immolated for the Ādityas (instead of for Aditi) and for the Viśve Devāḥ (instead of for the Maruts) the priest makes the sacrificer in both cases the embryo of the "whole" (*sarva-*).[15]

It has already been noted in another connection that the sacrificial victim represents that, out of which the sacrificer is reborn. Being immolated the victim gives birth to the sacrificer, imparting to him a new identity equal to its own. It is thus that the "birth out of sacrifice, out of brahman" is realized. Now the rite for immolating a pregnant victim is clearly intended to secure, ritually speaking, the safe birth of the foetus, as is evidenced by the special mantras used on the occasion: "I split apart thy urinator, thy womb, the two groins, the mother and the child, the embryo and the afterbirth". "Apart from thee let it be; bang!"[16] The foetuses of the victims represent the king-sacrificer, and so this sacrifice represents the birth of the king from the people and from the whole of the universe.

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[12] TB. 1,8,3,3. For the identification embryo-indriya cf. also TS. 2,1,2,6.

[13] MS. 4,4,9:60.18; ŚB. 5,5,2,9.

[14] MS. 4,4,9:60.19; ŚB. 5,5,2,8.

[15] On the implication of *sarva-* meaning "whole", "including or concerning every part", cf. J. Gonda, "Reflections on *sarva-* in vedic texts", *S. K. Chatterji Jubilee volume, Indian Linguistics*, 16, (Madras, 1955), p. 53ff. (specially. p. 62). Here we may take it to denote the whole of the cosmos.

[16] TS. 3,3,10d,e; cf. also ŚB. 4,5,2,3–5.

XXV

TRUTH MESSENGER IṢṬI (*SĀTYADŪTA-HAVĪṂṢI*)

TS. 1,8,19; TB. 1,8,3,3–4; MS. 2,6,13:73.5–7; 4,4,9:61.2–5; KS. 15,9:216.14–16. Baudh. 12,19:115.15–116.2; Āp. 18,21,16–22,4; Hir. 13,7,25–26.

Next to the animal sacrifice the BlYV. prescribes an iṣṭi for the Aśvins, Pūṣan, Sarasvant (or Sarasvatī) and Savitṛ.[1] The offerings are:

1)	cake baked on 12 potsherds (or: 11 p.)	for	the Aśvins and Pūṣan
2)	caru	for	Sarasvant Satyavāc (Sarasvatī Satyavāc)
3)	cake baked on 12 potsherds (MS.: of pea flour, on 8 potsh.)	for	Savitṛ Satyaprasava (Savitṛ Prasavitṛ)

MS. and KS. have another order of succession: 1) Savitṛ, 2) Aśvins-Pūṣan, 3) Sarasvatī.

The dakṣiṇās for this iṣṭi are according to TS.: a bow with three arrows and a dry skin bag; MS. prescribes a stick, a pair of (leather) shoes, and a dry skin bag, while KS. combines the items prescribed by TS. and MS., or instead of these a horse with red ears.[2]

The particular trait of these dakṣiṇās is that they are not destined for the priests to keep, but that they are passed on by messengers to rival kings (*pratirājan-*). Āp. enjoins that the sacrificer should bathe over them and then have them sent to rival kings by means of messengers. These messengers, the truth messengers (*satyadūta-*) after whom the iṣṭi is named, announce the unction of the sacrificer to the rival kings with the words "I have been anointed, I have become king."[3] Baudh. has it that if the rival kings accept the gifts, they thereby show that they are the sacrificer's friends (*mitra-*); if not, his enemies.[4]

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[1] Āp. places this iṣṭi on the day after the daśapeya, the diśām aveṣṭayaḥ and the animal sacrifice being performed on the same day as the daśapeya. Baudh. probably intends to perform it on the day following the animal sacrifice, i.e. on the second day after the daśapeya, the 11th day of the light half of Vaiśākha or Jyaiṣṭha. The Maitrāyaṇīyas and the Kāṭhakas perform it a year later after the prayujāṃ havīṃṣi (and the hair-cutting festival). Hir. follows them (or rather the Kāṭhakas as is evidenced by the dakṣiṇās prescribed by him) mentioning the dakṣiṇās for this iṣṭi directly after the prayujāṃ havīṃṣi. (Hir.'s text mentioning only the dakṣiṇās, has here a hiatus). The iṣṭi is lacking in the WhYV.

[2] Besides the dakṣiṇās as enumerated in the TS., Āp. mentions the opinion of "some" who prescribe: a stick and a pair of *boar skin* shoes or, alternatively, a stick, a pair of *old* shoes, or a dry skin bag. Hir. follows KS.

ANNOTATIONS

This iṣṭi is explained by TB. and MS. by a myth teaching that the gods, being engaged in war with the asuras, deposited the "truth of speech" (*vācaḥ satyam*) with the Aśvins and Pūṣan. Having done so they vanquished the asuras, by "falsehood" (*anṛta-*) as the TB. has it. Then the gods regained the satya through the cake for the Aśvins and Pūṣan; it is set free again and put in motion through the offerings for Sarasvant (or Sarasvatī) and Savitṛ: Sarasvant (Sarasvatī) represents Speech – "by speech the satya is put on its way" (*vācā satyam prahiṇoti*, MS. 4, p. 61.3) –, Savitṛ impels it – "the Savitṛ cake is for impelling" (*prasavāya*, MS. ib.). The situation of the satya, being stored away during the critical struggle with the asuras, and being released when victory is gained, seems to correspond with the situation of the sacrificer in his state of dīkṣita, subject to all kinds of inhibitions, then reborn and set free again through the sacrifice.[5] In this connection it will be elucidating that the Aśvins are inter alia concerned with the conception of the embryo, while Pūṣan, in general a god concerned with fertility and growth, is also, as knower of the paths, conceived of as conductor and guardian of the dead.[6] Here it will also be of interest that Pūṣan is said to have found "the hidden king (Soma)".[7]

It seems to me that the background of this iṣṭi is formed by the parallel between the king-sacrificer and the satya, both moving from concealment, death, inactivity, to manifestation, rebirth, action. This parallel may be further illustrated by pointing out the correspondence of both the sacrificer and the satya to the sun. We have frequently met with the corres-

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[3] The bathing is to be found in Āp. only. The message and its wording after MS. Baudh. does not mention the message but he records in the dvaidhasūtra (22,21:146.7) a message worded, acc. to Śālīki: "NN. has sent you this".

[4] Acc. to Āp.'s comm. the dakṣiṇās are afterwards returned to the priests.

[5] In this respect the passage AB. 7,10,4 may be recalled: "the sacrificer's wife is the *śraddhā-*, the sacrificer is the *satya-*". For the sacrificer-*satya-* as the male partner of the female *śraddhā-* (confidence, faith) see Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 115. On the king's dīkṣita state cf. chapter XXVII, Ann.

[6] Macdonell, *V.M.*, pp. 165,35.

[7] RV. 1,23,14.

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pondence between the king-sacrificer and the sun; the identification satya-sun is evidenced by passages such as ŚB. 6, 7, 1, 2; 14, 1, 2, 22; TB. 2, 1, 11, 1. Applying this correspondence to the situation of the present iṣṭi we arrive at a picture of the sun's subterranean course, its release from darkness and its victorious rise to the zenith. In this picture the Aśvins, who are often connected with sunrise and who convey on their chariot the sun maiden Sūryā,[8] and Pūṣan, who in one passage[9] claims the Aśvins as his father and is in general frequently connected with the sun,[10] show to full advantage.

It is not the intention of the present writer to explain this iṣṭi as the ritual realization of a "solar myth", but to clarify the process in which the satya is involved – a process clearly conceived of as being of the same nature as the course of the sun. Above is indicated the parallelism of the king's rebirth and the release of the satya. In my opinion we may even go further in connecting both ideas: the reborn king personifies the satya – that is not so much truth in an ethic sense but rather the cosmic order.[11] This seems not to be too bold an assertion on recalling that the king at his ritual rebirth is conceived of as the personification and the circulation centre of the brahman, the force which pervades and upholds the universe. If this were not the case the contents of the 'truth' message: "I have been anointed, I have become king" would be rather meagre if not inane. Matters being as they are the announcement of the sacrificer's unction is the most concise announcement of the satya, the cosmic order, personified by the king. By the sending of the message the cosmic order is put in motion again from its centre to pervade the world; "By speech he sets on its way the satya (formulated as follows): I have been anointed, I have become king. They (the addressees) place faith in (*śrad . . . dadhati*) the anointed."[12]

In much the same way the emperor Aśoka claimed to have won a universal *dhammavijaya*, a conquest of the world by the cosmic order, through his sending missionaries.

Together with the truth message go some gifts which give it a concrete form. In the first place it may be observed that this presents a clear example of the views expounded by Mauss on gift giving, especially on the bond established by the gift between the giver and the recipient, the latter becoming the sacrificer's ally when accepting the gift.[13] Also note the entirely non-economic, subjective value of the gift. Now the ritual furnishes a clue which makes it possible to assess the subjective value of the gift under discussion and to clarify its mechanism. Āp. prescribes that the king should bathe over the objects before sending them on. In this procedure probably resides the value of the gifts. We are not informed about the significance of this bath but it may safely be compared with the final bath after a Soma festival, the more so as the present iṣṭi is directly linked with the unction festival.[14] The final bath is one of the rites marking explicitly the ritual rebirth of the sacrificer.[15] Here the remainders from his ritual birth process are disposed of, and the dīkṣita attire, the sacrificer's embryonic coverings, are left. The same, it seems to me, holds good for the bath in the present iṣṭi. The objects over which the king bathes are mostly of the same nature as the paraphernalia used in the ceremonies of the unction festival: the bow with three arrows reminds us of the same item handed to the king in preparation for the unction; the leather shoes are easily to be linked with those which the king puts on at the time of the chariot drive;[16] the stick may be connected with that given to the dīkṣita in the normal Soma paradigma.[17] The dīkṣā and the unction having, as seen before, much in common, we may consider these gift objects as leavings from the birth process, disposed of in a kind of final bath.[18] Interesting in this light is also the dry skin bag, which though having no link with either the dīkṣā or the unction admits of a similar interpretation. The skin bag is often mentioned as the vessel containing the heavenly fluids and abundance; it contains the rain, and Dhātar or Parjanya are asked to open it up in order to release the rains;[19] the Aśvins convey on their chariot a skin bag out of which they spend madhu for promoting the welfare of man and animal.[20] In this same line we may

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[8] Cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 50f.

[9] RV. 10,85,14.

[10] Cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 30, 35–37.

[11] On the notion of *satya-* cf. Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte* (Göttingen, 1919), p. 187; Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 13–24.

[12] MS. 4,4,9:61.3. On the intimate relation satya-śraddhā see p. 204, n. 5.

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[13] M. Mauss, *The Gift* (transl. by I. Cunnison) (London, 1954); also G. v. d. Leeuw, *La Religion*, p. 343ff.

[14] In the process of fixation of the ritual as noted oftener it became dissociated from the unction and was even in some schools postponed for a year after the unction. According to the wording of the message sent, however, it clearly belongs to the unction, forming its logical conclusion.

[15] Cf. MS. 3,6,7:68.18; also the mantra with which the sacrificer addresses the water before entering it: "ye divine waters, this is thy foetus...", TS. 1,4,45h.

[16] Āp., mentioning the opinion of some, even speaks of boar skin shoes.

[17] Cf. CH. no. 17g.

[18] The fact that as far as I know the gift objects are not directly connected with the corresponding unction objects is probably due to the fact that the present ceremony was dissociated from the unction in the course of development.

[19] Respectively AV. 7,18,1; RV. 5,83,7.

[20] RV. 8,5,19–20; 4,45,1.3.

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perhaps also place the comparison of the year to a blown-up skin bag,[21] and Vṛtra who, being slain, is described as lying down like a deflated skin bag.[22] Viewed against this background the dry skin bag in this iṣṭi seems to me to be the same vessel of heavenly fluids, the heavenly fluids having been released and put in motion again at the beginning of the new year. The vessel which contained them is left deflated as a dry skin bag. In other words it is the emptied womb or amniotic sac which is left over after the new birth has occurred.

The significance of these gifts as leavings of the king's rebirth is underlined by his bathing over them, by which procedure they become in a higher measure charged with the substance the king discards in this kind of final bath. In my opinion the subjective value of the gifts resides in their being representations and bearers of the birth leavings of the king; they are charged with the "soul substance" of the king:[23] it is, however, a strange fact, which I cannot fully account for, that these same gifts are previously given as dakṣiṇās to the priests. Their being used as dakṣiṇā points to the same conclusion, concerning the inner value of the gifts, the dakṣiṇā, as seen elsewhere, generally being linked with the idea of the ritual birth leavings. But the double use of these gifts does not become clearer for it. Āp's comm. teaches that the gifts are returned to the priests after the excursion to the rival kings, but the texts are silent on this procedure. At any rate this is a clear instance that the dakṣiṇā is not to be considered a mere fee or salary for the priests. Perhaps we must imagine behind the procedure a circulation of gift objects, similar to the kula on the Trobriand Islands,[24] but for India evidence of similar institutions is lacking.

The remainders of the birth process are, as seen on other occasions, disposed of in a way which makes them the germs of new production. The remainders, sent as gifts to the rival kings, effect rich returns in the form of allies who place their śraddhā in the king.

A few words may be added on account of the *anṛtadūta-*, Āp.'s interpretation of the *pālākala-*, whom we met among the ratnins.[25] Whatever the politic reality represented by this designation may be, so much is clear, that in the ritual context the *anṛtadūta-* is the counterpart of the

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[21] JB. 2,396; PB. 5,10,2; TS. 7,5,6,2.

[22] ŚB. 1,6,3,16.

[23] On the placenta as an "external soul", cf. v. d. Leeuw, *La Religion*, p. 287.

[24] Cf. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London, 1922), esp. p. 471–73. For a brief account of the Trobriand gift exchange system cf. M. Mauss, *o.c.*, p. 19–29.

[25] Cf. chapter: Ratnīnāṃ haviṃṣi.

satyadūta-. Where the *satyadūta-* is connected with birth and renewal, we may see in the *anṛtadūta-* not a mere spy or agent-provocateur but the messenger of death and destruction, and connect him with the ritual phase of death which the king has to pass through in order to be reborn.

XXVI

YOKING OFFERINGS (*PRAYUJĀṂ HAVĪṂṢI*)

TS. 1,8,20; TB. 1,8,4; MS. 2,6,13:72.17-73.3; KS. 15,9:216.11–14; ŚB. 5,5,2,1–7. Baudh. 12,19:116.2–9; Āp. 18,22,5–8; Hir. 13,7,23–24; Kāty. 15,9, 11–16.

The cycle of ceremonies round the unction concludes with the 12 prayujāṃ havīṃṣi. These are, acc. to TS.,[1] the following offerings:

1. cake on 12 potsherds	for Agni
2. caru	for Soma
3. cake on 12 potsherds (8 potsh., KS.; 12 or 8 potsh., WhYV.)	for Savitṛ
4. caru	for Bṛhaspati
5. cake on 8 potsherds (10 potsh., WhYV.)	for Tvaṣṭṛ
6. cake on 12 potsherds	for Agni Vaiśvānara
7. caru	for Sarasvatī
8. caru	for Pūṣan
9. caru	for Mitra
10. caru	for Varuṇa
11. caru	for Kṣetrapati
12. caru	for Aditi.

These twelve offerings can be performed as twelve separate iṣṭis with a month's interval so as to fill out the year following the unction.[2] An alternative to this extension of the prayujāṃ havīṃṣi in terms of time is given in the WhYV. in terms of space: the first six offerings are made each on a separate place of sacrifice at a distance of one śamyā throw from each other in the eastern direction; for the second series of six the same procedure is followed in the reverse direction, so as to return to the starting point. The BlYV. and the WhYV. prefer, however, to make them into two iṣṭis of six offerings each, performed on two subsequent days.[3] The dakṣiṇā for the first series of six offerings is the right-hand draught ox of the transport cart of the (royal?) chariot; the left-hand one is given as dakṣiṇā for the second series. In the WhYV. two draught oxen are prescribed as dakṣiṇā for each series.[4]

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[1] The other schools have the same list as the Taittirīyakas, but in MS. and KS. the fifth and sixth offering have interchanged their place in the sequence, as have the eleventh and twelfth. In the WhYV. the tenth and eleventh are interchanged.

[2] Cf. Caland's note ad Āp. 18,22,8; Caland's information that they are performed during the unction year is clearly a slip of the pen. The year meant is that between daśapeya and keśavapanīya.

ANNOTATIONS

What is being yoked by means of this offering is the new time cycle (the year) and its constituent units: days and nights, months, seasons. "The anointed (king) yokes the months (*ṛtu-*); yoked, the months carry him", (when making the first six offerings) "he yokes the (first) six months; when yoked, they carry him eastward till the rainy season"; while the other six months, yoked by the second series of offerings, carry him back.[5] These offerings represent a march, or rather a chariot drive, through the universe, a march which can be put in terms of space as well as of time: the offerings can be made with monthly intervals or with intervals of a śamyā throw. We have met with similar ideas in the cāturmāsyas and the saṃsṛp offerings, while the year imagined as a chariot yoked with the seasons has been mentioned when dealing with the chariot drive. In this connection the reference in the WhYV. to the *pūrvāgni-* – the draught oxen of the *pūrvāgni-*being given as dakṣiṇā – seems to be particularly relevant. We saw that the *pūrvāgni-* was involved in the rites of the chariot drive as it was moved up to the north of the āhavanīya fire; and when dealing with the building of the dicing hut which was built near or at the place of the *pūrvāgni-*, we supposed that the *pūrvāgni-* was the fire representing the old year, and was to be renewed at the beginning of the new year. This hypothesis would fit in here very well. In the present offerings, which begin with an Agni offering, the year fire would then be set in motion again on a circulating course through the universe. The juxtaposition of the *pūrvāgni-* (WhYV.) and the king's chariot, or at least its transport cart (BlYV.) points in the same direction.

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[3] The Taittirīyakas place the prayujāṃ havīṃṣi after the two-animal sacrifice and the truth messenger iṣṭi. Āp. has the first series performed on the same day as the truth messenger iṣṭi; Hir. on the day following it. Baudh. prescribes for the first series the day before full moon in the month Vaiśākha (or Jyaiṣṭha) while the second series is due on the full moon day after the usual full moon iṣṭi. MS. and KS., as the WhYV., place the prayujāṃ havīṃṣi on the two days following the daśapeya (according to Vārāha ŚS. 3,3,4,27–39 they fill out the last two days of the half month which began with the three upasad days for the unction).

[4] These draught-oxen are styled *agnivāh-*, viz., according to the comm., the oxen which drew the *pūrvāgni-* to the āhavanīya hearth on the extended place of sacrifice. On the *pūrvāgni-* cf. also the chariot drive, the enthronement, and the dicing rites.

[5] ŚB. 5,5,2,1.3.4; cf. also MS. 4,4,9:60.16; TB. 1,8,4,4.

It is interesting to see that this idea of a march through the universe had its reflection in what the TB. reports to have been the former habits of the Kuru-Pañcāla people to pass the year;[6] at the same time this TB. passage shows how in this cosmic movement fertility processes, the growth and production of crops, were involved. In the last month of the cool season (*śiśira-*), i.e. in the month Phālguna, they set out on a *digvijaya-* or world conquest in an easterly direction; there they took hold of the barley harvest, fed their men and animals and returned to the west, immediately before the rainy season. Then, after the rainy season, they laboured in their own fields, and in the last month of the year they harvested the second crop.[7]

From the above considerations the conclusion may be drawn that after the universal rebirth brought about by the unction and related ceremonies the cosmos is put in circulatory motion again by means of the prayujāṃ havīṃṣi. This general idea materializes in the evocation of the king setting out in the beginning of the year on the time chariot, encompassing and piecing together in his course the new time cycle (the year) and space; or, to put it in the words of TB. 1, 8, 4, 4 (speaking of the draught oxen given as dakṣiṇā) "he yokes the two ends of the year, it serves for the reaching of heaven".

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[6] On the Kuru-Pañcāla people, which seems to have been a stronghold of brahmanic ritual traditions, see Macdonell-Keith, *V.I.*, 1, p. 165f.

[7] TB. 1,8,4,1–2; cf. also Mādhava ad TS. 1,8,20, p. 193–196.

XXVII

HAIR-CUTTING FESTIVAL (*KEŚAVAPANĪYAḤ*)

TB. 1,8,8,4–5; MS. 4,4,10:62.6–12; KS. 15,10:216.21–217.2; ŚB. 5,5,3.
Baudh. 12,20:116.10–117.13; Āp. 18,22,9–11; Hir. 13,7,27–30; Kāty. 15,9,20–21.26.

The next Soma festival is separated from the unction and daśapeya festivals by a period during which the king is subject to a series of observances, the most important of which is the interdiction of having his hair cut. This period is put by most authorities[1] at a year. Baudh., however, prescribes a period of only twelve days of observances; then begins the dīkṣā for the hair-cutting festival which latter is due on the next following full-moon day (of Jyaiṣṭha or Āṣāḍha), i.e. one month and a half after the unction festival. Similarly Kāty. prescribes, as an alternative to the year period, to perform the hair-cutting festival on a full-moon day (which according to my computation will mean the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, i.e. one month and a half after the daśapeya; Kāty.'s comm. however mentions the month Jyaiṣṭha).[2] The date of the hair-cutting festival is, in any case, according to those authorities who specify it, a full-moon day (Kāty.; Baudh.; Āśv.; Lāṭy.).

The observances to which the king is subject during the intervening period are according to Kāty.: interdiction of having his beard shaved and hair cut; moreover he should not tread on the earth, and, as long as he lives, he should not do so without having shoes on. Baudh. enjoins that during the twelve-day period the king should have ointment applied to his eyes and body, should not clean his teeth, accept battle if the occasion presents itself and feed upon the leavings of the daily agnihotra offerings.[3] According to Lāṭy. 9, 2, 17–29 he has his beard shaved but the

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[1] Kāty., Āp., Hir. Also Vārāha 3,3,4,40; Lāṭy. 9,3,1.

[2] Cf. also Āśv. 9,3,24: the next full-moon day after the daśapeya; this is also the opinion of Dhanaṃjayya as mentioned by Lāṭy. 9,3,3.

[3] The meaning of the words "*na pramandayate*" is not clear; the comm. Bhavasvāmin reads "*na praskandayate*", explaining: "he does not sleep on a bed and does not comb his hair". The interdiction of hair-cutting seems to be implied in the omitting of the hair-cutting after the daśapeya. Āp. and Hir. do not mention the observances.

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hair on his head must be left intact.[4] Lāṭy. further prescribes that the king should not wash but only rub himself; he cuts his nails and cleans his teeth; he sleeps on a tiger skin in the fire hut and should not have sexual intercourse.[5] Lāṭy. extends the tabu also over the subjects, who are forbidden to have their hair, beard and nails cut; moreover they should not cut the manes or tails of their horses, nor treat the horses' teeth with a whetstone (*tejanī-*) nor castrate them. The brahmins in the king's realm, however, are exempted from these interdictions.

The Soma ritual of the hair-cutting festival is that of the atirātra, the Soma festival which lasts the night through till dawn of the following day.[6] Its lauds are arranged in such a way that the number of verses of which they are composed decreases at every service (*pratīcīnastoma-*): the lauds of the morning service are composed of 21 verses, those of the midday service of 17, those of the evening service and the nightly lauds of 15 verses, the laud at dawn of 9 verses.[7]

The hair-cutting is, according to Āp. and Hir., performed twice at the moments prescribed in the normal Soma paradigma, once at the dīkṣā and again at the conclusion of the Soma ritual.[8] Āp. and Hir. prescribe that the hair-cutting should be accompanied by the eight mantras TB. 2, 7, 17, the first four of which should be recited at the first shaving, the last four at the second turn.[9]

The hair-cutting mantras are the following:

1 The long-haired ones (*keśin-*), who first performed the sattra, by whom that which is visible here was brought about, for them I offer manifold ghee libations.
You (long-haired ones) should unite this man (the sacrificer) with wealth (*rāyaspoṣa-*) and lustre (*varcas-*).

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[4] Cf. JB. 2,204. Cf. Baudh., according to whom hair and beard are both cut resp. shaved after the unction; after the daśapeya only the beard is shaved.

[5] *nānu grāmaṃ praviśet*; this expression is explained by Lāṭy.'s comm. in two ways: he should not go into the community (the village), or he should abstain from sexual intercourse.

[6] For the atirātra cf. Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, no. 215; Āp. 14,3,8–4,11.

[7] Thus ŚB. 5,5,3,3–4. KS. gives another scheme, going down to 9 verses for the agniṣṭoma and uktha lauds, then again 21 verses for the ṣoḍaśin laud, 15 for the night service and 9 for the laud at dawn.

[8] Cf. CH. nos. 14a and 256. Baudh. and Vārāha mention only the second moment. Kāty. gives no details.

[9] Thus Hir.'s comm. explains the words *ādipravāda-* and *antapravāda-*, which seem to mean the mantras which begin with mentioning the hair-cutting resp. those which end with it. This does not, however, fit the arrangement of TB. 2,7,17. Perhaps originally other mantras or another arrangement of the same mantras are meant. The mantras prescribed here belong to the rājābhiṣeka which seems to be related to the keśavapanīya (cf. Āp. 22,28; Baudh. 18,16–19, who calls it mṛtyusava).

2 Not without the brahman power is there a cessation of the exertion (*tapas-*).
The dīkṣā has two names; commanding (*vaśinī*), sharp (*ugrā*).
The hairs arise (and) grow stalky.
Only the brahman rules their shaving.[10]

3 Mount on the bench; overcome the foes; the commanding, the sharp dīkṣā has released (you); give a dakṣiṇā, lengthen your lifetime and thus free yourself from Varuṇa's noose.

4 With the razor with which Savitṛ, the knowing one, shaved the hair of king Soma, of Varuṇa, therewith, brahmins, shave here (the hair of the sacrificer).
Unite him with nourishment (*ūrj-*), wealth (*rayi-*) and lustre (*varcas-*).

5 May not your lustre (*varcas-*) follow your hairs (when shaved). This may Dhātṛ grant you. Indra, Bṛhaspati, Savitṛ have bestowed lustre (*varcas-*).

6 They sought in many ways a depository for those (hairs): between heaven and earth, between the waters and heaven.
Depositing them on the force imparting (*vīryakṛt-*) bunch of darbha grass unite him (the sacrificer) with virility and lustre.

7 Savitṛ must lay force (*bala-*) in your arms; Soma must anoint you with milk and ghee. Deposit, O Aśvins, this as form (*rūpa-*) in the women; unite him (the sacrificer) with virility and lustre.

8 If the comb has scratched the parting of the hair, or what the razor has passed over in shaving, deposit, O Aśvins . . ., etc.

As to the extent of the hair-cutting there is a difference between the BlYV. and WhYV.; whereas the BlYV. uses here the word *vapate*, to shave, the WhYV. specifies that the king should not have his hair shaved but only shortened (*nivartayate*).

As to the place of the hair-cutting festival in the whole of the rājasuya Kāty. gives two possibilities: either it follows shortly after the daśapeya and is itself followed by two more sacrifices, or it is due a year after the unction festival (which year is filled out by the yoking offerings) and then constitutes the conclusion of the rājasūya. This latter view seems to be the view of the ŚB. which mentions no more Soma festivals and which

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[10] The two names of the dīkṣā are compared by Sāyaṇa with the two designations of the vrata undertaken by the dīkṣita: "of a beatific back" (*sujaghana-*) and "razor-edged" (*kṣurapavi-*) (TS. 6,2,5,2). The brahman who rules over the shaving is declared by Sāyaṇa as the purohita; he represents the brahman power of the first pāda, without which there is no cessation of the tapas; he takes the lead in the shaving ceremony.

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enjoins the year's interval between the unction and hair-cutting festivals.[11]

ANNOTATIONS

Throughout the world the special importance attached to the hair is attested in taboos, rites for cutting it, special measures for the disposal of the clippings, as well as in legend (e.g. Samson).[12] The ethnological facts concerning the hair can be summarized by the statement that the hair is considered the seat of the soul substance (or at least one of the places where it is localized), that it is a form of the "external soul"[13] and the "procreative life substance".[14] The Vedic ritual also shows the hair's close association with the vital forces and fertility, as can be seen in the hair-cutting mantras quoted above: the sacrificer's lustre (*varcas-*) should not leave him together with the clipped or shaved hair. In AV. 8, 2, 17 the same wish is expressed with regard to the vital energy (*āyus-*). JB. 2, 204 associates the hair with *śrī-*, an invigorating, vitalizing force.[15] A person's prosperity can be impaired by burying his (or her) hair under three stones, as Kauś. 36, 17 prescribes; the following sūtra gives a rite to counteract such proceedings: the priest can bury and then dig up again the hair of his client with the formula: "that fortune of thine which they have buried in a pile of three or four stones, that we now dig up along with *offspring and wealth*". It stands to reason that hair clippings should be carefully disposed of. The hair shaved on various occasions prescribed in the domestic ritual is to be deposited, often mixed with cow dung, at such places as the root of an udumbara tree, a tuft of darbha grass, a pond or in the vicinity of water, a cowshed, a place rich in trees and plants.[16] All of these are places where the powers of fertility are most manifest. The disposal of the hair clippings at such places seems to the present writer to reveal the concern for giving them a place in the fertility processes so as not to lose the vital force inherent in them. This concern is patent in the sixth of the hair-cutting mantras: "... depositing them on the force-imparting (*vīryakṛt-*) bunch of darbha grass, unite him (the sacrificer) with virility (*pauṃsya-*) and lustre (*varcas-*)". In other words: the placing of the sacrificer's hair on the force-imparting darbha bunch is tantamount to the promotion of his procreative force. If it may be assumed that the seventh mantra refers also to the disposal of the clipped hair, the words: "deposit, O Aśvins, this as form (*rūpa-*) in the women, unite him with virility and lustre", speak for themselves.[17]

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[11] Śālīki also holds that the keśavapanīya constitutes the last Soma festival, cf. Baudh. 26,2:274.5. MS.'s rājasūya brāhmaṇa also does not mention any more Soma festivals.

[12] To this effect cf. e.g. the facts assembled by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, abridged edition, p. 231 ff. Also *Aberglauben*, 3, p. 1259ff.; *ERE*, 6, p. 474ff.

[13] Cf. e.g. v. d. Leeuw, *Religion*, p. 286.

[14] Cf. R. B. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, pp. 109ff.; 130f.; 231ff.

[15] "The head is (the seat of) the *śrī-*; the *śrī-* goes to the head of the consecrated person (*suṣvāṇa-*); if he would shave his hair before a year were over he would shave the *śrī-*, not the hair; but, in that he shaves his hair after the lapse of a year, he, having gathered the *śrī-* in himself by means of (the revolution of) the year, shaves his hair, not his *śrī-*". On *śrī-* as an invigorating force, cf. J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, pp. 176–212, esp. p. 208ff.

[16] Cf. ĀpGS. 4,10,8; HirGS. 2,6,13; 1.9,18; PārGS. 2,1,23; MānGS. 1,21, 11; Kauś. 54, 20.

On the other hand, however, the hair is considered the "dead impure skin", which the sacrificer must discard in order to become fit for the sacrifice.[18] Thus it is natural that the cutting of the hair and shaving are an essential part of initiatory and consecratory rites, which, as is well known, purport to procure renewal of life, and at which one so to say "changes one's skin". Thus the hair shows the same polarity as has often been seen to be inherent in substances and powers concerned with fertility and procreation: it is at once a form of the procreative life substance and "dead and impure skin". In the ritual hair-cutting both aspects are in evidence: the discarded dead skin, like the embryonic cover often met with in the foregoing chapters, is not annihilated but disposed of in such a way as to become the germ of new generation and thus to promote the sacrificer's welfare.

For the understanding of the ideas underlying the hair-cutting ritual it must be taken into account that it is performed periodically. This periodicity may be observed in the domestic ritual where hair-cutting is performed both at the beginning and at the end of studentship,[19] while for the śrauta ritual we have the evidence of the four-monthly sacrifices after each of which the sacrificer has his hair cut or shaved. It may also be considered significant that the Soma sacrificer is shaved both at the beginning (dīkṣā) and at the end of the Soma festival.[20] It is perhaps not without importance that the Soma festival – at least its basic form, the agniṣṭoma – is considered "of equal measure with the year";[21] thus the shaving of the Soma sacrificer seems to be connected with the periods joining the subsequent

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[17] Cf. also the custom observed among the North-America Tlingit Indians: the hair and nails of a beloved dead person are put by a girl of his clan, just reaching maturity, in her girdle; then, having undertaken a vow of fasting for eight months, she prays that the dead person be born again from her, and that she will marry well and live a good life (cf. *ERE*, 6, p. 477).

[18] Cf. TS. 6,1,1,2; MS. 3,6,2:60.17.

[19] Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, pp. 51,61.

[20] Cf. CH. pp. 11 and 407.

[21] PB. 4,2,12; cf. also TB. 1,2,2,1; AB. 4,12,4.

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time cycles (years, seasons). Further it is to be taken into account that the hair, being, as argued above, associated with the powers and substances concerned with fertility, is closely bound up with other manifestations of these powers and substances, especially those of the vegetative world: trees and plants. The growth and shaving of the hair are equal to the periodical process of the growth and fading of vegetation, and to the cyclical fertility processes in general. This idea is stated in clear terms in TB. 1, 5, 6, 5: "he shaves with a copper (razor); when the (hot) season has arrived, Agni, having assumed that form (viz. of a copper razor), cuts (the hair) of the earth (i.e. makes the vegetation fade away); afterwards she (the earth) gains day by day in prosperity and generates (new vegetation); he who knowing this has his hair cut, has it cut in exactly the same way: afterwards he gains day by day in prosperity and procreates.[22]

The same periodicity seems to be intended by the rules pertaining to growth and cutting of the hair in the rājasūya. In the unction rites the hair-cutting – as I tried to show – is represented by the episode of the piece of copper thrown at a barber or long-haired eunuch; there, however, when the royal rites were embedded in the general Soma ritual, it was superseded by the shaving which forms part of the normal Soma dīkṣā and only its skeleton remained. After the lapse of a year, in which the hair has been left to grow, the hair-cutting festival is performed. Though the hair-cutting is also here incorporated in the Soma paradigma, its character as an independent royal consecration rite is evidenced by the rājābhiṣeka or mṛtyusava where it forms part of the royal rites proper.[23] In the course of the present investigation it has often been seen that the king incorporates the universe and enacts the cyclical fertility process of the cosmos. In this way also the cutting of his hair can be understood: the year-long growth of his hair stands for plant growth and ripening of the crops, the cutting of his hair at the end of the year-long ripening process makes the universe fit again for a new productive time cycle.

In this connection it may be profitable to call attention to the "long-haired ones" (*keśin-*) invoked in the hair-cutting mantras and "by whom that which is visible here was brought about". RV. 10, 136 describes the long-haired one as a cosmic man who encompasses both worlds (v. 1) and inhabits the eastern as well as the western Ocean (v. 5), while RV. 1, 164, 44 speaks of three such beings, alluding, as it seems, to the gods presiding over the three worlds (earth, atmosphere, sky): Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya. The first of these three long-haired ones is there said to shave (himself)[24] at the end of the year.[25] If the *keśin-* is to be considered a human ecstatic[26] it would perhaps not be unreasonable to suppose that he strives to conform to the model of a primordial cosmic man, whose long-hairedness may be taken to refer to his being a store of procreative life substance. However this may be, it will be interesting to note that the king, who in fact is represented in the ritual as a cosmic being, shows a great resemblance to the *keśin-*, or his divine prototype, in that he lets his hair grow long cutting it at the end of the year, like the first of the three long-haired ones cited above.

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[22] The identity of the hair with vegetation is also made explicit in the second shaving mantra: "the hairs arise and grow stalky". Cf. also the belief that the hair of the dead merges with the plants (BĀU. 3, 2,13); the mingling of darbha grasss with the hair at the domestic hair-cutting rites as well as at the dīkṣā; further: Onians, *o.c.*, p. 231, n. 1.

[23] As to the periodicity of the hair cutting, Baudh.'s version of the rājābhiṣeka is interesting in that the hair cutting is repeated after twelve days, during which the king is subject to the same observances as during the interval between the unction and hair-cutting festivals of the rājasūya.

Another such being is the *brahmacārin-* of AV. 11, 5, who has much in common with the *keśin-*: he has a long beard and passes in a day from the eastern to the western Ocean (v. 6). It seems to be a fair conclusion that the ideas which have given shape to the *keśin-* and the *brahmacārin-* are also given expression by the king as represented in the rājasūya. The *brahmacārin-* hymn states that it is by *brahmacarya-* and *tapas-* that the king protects his realm (v. 17). Now *brahmacarya-* and *tapas-* seem exactly to be the purport of the observances to which the king is subject during the year preceding the hair-cutting festival. By these observances, the most important of which is the interdiction to have his hair cut, the king protects the realm, that is: he enacts, as has been seen above, the universal fertility process and secures its safe issue.

The conduct prescribed for the king during the year between the unction and the hair-cutting festival can also be summarized as a dīkṣā.[27] Thus the king, like the normal dīkṣita, should sleep in the fire hut and is forbidden sexual intercourse according to the rules laid down by Lāṭy. When after a year the hair is cut or shaved the dīkṣā and *tapas-* are released, as is indicated by the second and third of the shaving mantras.

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[24] *vapate*; Sāyaṇa takes it to mean that this *keśin-*, Agni, shaves the earth.

[25] *saṃvatsare*, Sāyaṇa: *saṃvatsare 'tīte sati*; Geldner however less convincingly: "im Laufe des Jahres".

[26] Cf. Oldenberg, *R.d.V.*, p. 404; J. W. Hauer, *Anfänge der Yogapraxis* (Berlin-Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1922), p. 169ff.; the same, *Der Vrātya* (Stuttgart, 1924), p. 324ff.; also E. Arbman, *Rudra* (Uppsala, 1922), who thinks that *keśin-* here refers to Rudra and his worshippers (p. 298ff.).

[27] The *brahmacārin-* is described as a *dīkṣita-* in AV. 11,5,6. On the connection of the dīkṣā with the practises of the *keśin-* and with the *tapas-*, cf. Oldenberg, *R.d.V.*, p. 404ff.

The brahman power without which "there is no cessation of the *tapas-*" might be taken to refer to the razor which is considered by ŚB. 2, 6, 4, 5 a form of the brahman power. Viewed in this way the year after the unction links up with the year preceding it. The sequence dīkṣā year – unction – dīkṣā year seems to represent a rounded-off slice of what in the first instance can be conceived of as an unending sequence. Though the hair-cutting festival seems only to be concerned with the cutting of the hair, its resemblance to the rājābhiṣeka suggests that it originally will have been a full-fledged royal consecration which consequently was to be followed by yet another dīkṣā-like period and so forth.[28]

If indeed the year-long observances of the king are tantamount to a renewed dīkṣā, this means that the king is again reduced to the embryonic state characteristic of the dīkṣita, to be gestated during a year and then to be born again. This conclusion is supported by what has been seen to be the character of the unction which not only means birth but also death, re-entering the womb. It has been seen that the king, like his prototypes Indra and Varuṇa, disintegrates by the effect of the unction waters and is then in a series of offerings, the saṃsṛps, mimicking the course of the year, pieced together again. The year preceding the hair-cutting festival seems to be a duplicate of this saṃsṛp "year"; the keśavapanīya year is marked by the yoking offerings, which, like the saṃsṛps, can be considered the ritual representations of a victorious march by which the universe is encompassed. That indeed the keśavapanīya year and the saṃsṛp "year" are duplicates becomes evident on considering that the king, having mounted to the zenith directly before the unction (mounting of the quarters of space), descends to the earth in two ways: first, after the saṃsṛp and daśapeya rites by means of the offerings of the quarters of space, and then again by the liturgical arrangement of the keśavapanīya, the lauds of which are based on decreasing numbers of verses: ". . . just as he would descend (from a tree) catching hold of branch after branch".[29]

The above considerations may be summarized by saying that the king, as a cosmic being, enacts the cosmical rhythm of birth and death, integration and disintegration, ascension and descent. To this end he is reduced to the embryonic conditions of the dīkṣita, maturing during a year-long gestation towards a new birth, and then re-entering the womb, so as to ensure the safe development of the same processes in the universe.

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[28] The fact that the keśavapanīya is followed by other festivals might be taken to point to a pattern of periodically recurrent rites.

[29] PB. 18,10,10; the ascension to heaven and descent to the earth along a tree is a well-known shamanistic symbol, cf. M. Eliade, *Le Chamanisme* (Paris, 1951), pp. 120, 125f., 362ff.

XXVIII

CONCLUDING SOMA FESTIVALS

(*VYUṢṬIR DVIRĀTRAḤ*; *KṢATRASYA DHṚTIḤ*)

TB. 1,8,10.
Baudh. 12,20:117.13–118.8; Āp. 18,22,12–22; Hir. 13,7,31–33; Kāty. 15,9,22–26.

The rājasūya could, according to Kāty. 15, 9, 26, be closed with the hair-cutting festival.[1] As to the Yajus texts, the two last festivals are only mentioned in the sūtras and in an appendix to the rājasūya portion of the TB. They are, however, prescribed by brāhmaṇa texts of the liturgical specialists.[2] Possibly they formed originally part of a form of the rājasūya, the stages of which were marked by Soma festivals, and which was, at the time of the fixation of the śrauta ritual, united with a rājasūya formed from other elements. This would also account for the fact that the rājasūya seems to have two introductions: the introductory Soma festival (not mentioned by the ŚB.; by TB. and MS. only in an appendix to their rājasūya portions) and the iṣṭis for Anumati-Nirṛti and other divinities, while the insertion of the consecratory rites in the Soma paradigma points to the same conclusion.[3]

The first of these two festivals is the two day Soma festival called "dawn" (*vyuṣṭi- dvirātra-*). The first day is celebrated as an agniṣṭoma, the second as an overnight Soma sacrifice (*atirātra-*).[4] The first day of this festival should fall on a new moon day or a full moon day, or the festival may be celebrated on two subsequent days of a fortnight of waxing moon. It also occurs as a separate Soma festival[5] to be performed by one who wishes to obtain offspring, and its liturgical features are so designed as to symbolize pairing.[6] Its purpose is to guarantee continuity and to make the sacrificer pass safely through the joints dividing the time units: "This two-day sacrifice (is called) "the dawn"; (the priest) makes it dawn (again and again) for him".[7] Perhaps this festival was originally connected with the turning of the year, securing by its two days the passing from the old year into the new year. At least the stress laid on the number seven-hundred and twenty, being the total amount of stotriyā verses of the two days and thus identifying the festival with the total number of days and nights of the year, may suggest so.[8]

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[1] Cf. also Baudh. 26,2:274.5.

[2] JB. 2,205–6; PB. 18,11,5–11. The PB. mentions, however, only the vyuṣṭi dvirātra.

[3] The existence of a rājasūya without Soma festivals is evidenced by the so-called Somasava, cf. Āp. 22,25,10.

[4] For the atirātra, cf. Āp. 14,3,8ff.

[5] Āp. 22,14,17.

[6] Cf. JB. 2,205.

The second festival, the "wielding of power" (*kṣatrasya dhṛti-*),[9] is the exact counterpart of the introductory Soma festival and thus closes the cycle of the rājasūya's Soma festivals.[10]

The end of the rājasūya is formed, according to Baudh., by the offerings to the devikās and the three-layered iṣṭi already dealt with before.[11]

After the rājasūya, as after other royal sacrifices (e.g. the horse sacrifice), the surā festival (sautrāmaṇī) is to be performed.[12]

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[7] PB. 18,11,11. Cf. also PB. 18,11,8; TB. 1,8,10,2 where it is said that the sacrificer by means of this two-day sacrifice "becomes firmly established separately in two halves of the month", or in two months.

[8] Cf. PB. 18,11,6; JB. 2,205; TB. 1,8,10.

[9] Hir. has: *kṣatrāṇāṃ dhṛti-*; JB. 2,206: *kṣetrāṇāṃ dhṛti-*.

[10] With this festival JB. 2,206 and Śāṅkh. 15,16,10–12 connect a semihistorical legend of the expulsion of the Kurus from Kurukṣetra: "The Kurus having lost Kurukṣetra (cf. TB. 1,8,4 on the yearly wanderings of the Kuru-Pañcālas), the Salvas (are settled) in Kurukṣetra", as the JB. teaches. According to JB. the expulsion was brought about by the omission of the kṣatrasya dhṛti (cf. PB. which does not mention this festival); JB. describes this festival as having three types of stoma (like the introductory Soma festival). Śāṅkh., however, teaches that it should include four types of stoma; its being performed as a triṣṭoma was according to this authority the reason for the defeat of the Kurus.

[11] The three-layered iṣṭi is also prescribed by Kāty. 15,10,25. Cf. also Vārāha 3,3,4,50, who prescribes the devikā offerings, the devasū offerings and the iṣṭi for Agni Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa as concluding rites.

[12] For a brief account of the sautrāmaṇī, cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 159ff.; Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, nos. 666–678.

EPILOGUE

To wind up the discussion of the rājasūya an attempt may be made to recapitulate its most salient points and briefly to sketch the view it affords of the śrauta ritual as a whole.

In the first place it is to be stressed once again that the rājasūya is not a royal consecration in the sense of a ceremony performed once and for all, to bestow royal power on a king. Its character can best be understood when compared with the yearly festivals known in Hinduism as *utsava-* – the rājasūya is also a *sava-* – by means of which the powers active in the universe are regenerated. This can appear from a brief survey of the successive ceremonies. As has been seen they cluster round the turning of the year and are all in some way or other concerned with the regeneration of the year, which is conceived of both as an actual time unit and as a cosmological entity. First there is a fortnight occupied by an introductory Soma festival and a series of iṣṭis. At the end of this preparatory period which represents the new birth, on the day of full moon in the month Phālguna (or Caitra) begins a year marked by the four-monthly sacrifices. This year is closed by a sacrifice presided over by Indra Śunāsīra (Indra with the plough), which is intended "to obtain the thirteenth month"; this thirteenth month symbolizes the new year, it is the embryo of the year and at the same time as great as the year itself. Thus at the end of the cāturmāsya year, the year and with it the whole universe is regenerated. Similar ideas, especially the safeguarding of the new birth from inimical powers (*rakṣas-*), have been seen to be expressed by the offerings immediately following this sacrifice (indraturīya, pañcedhmīya, apāmārga-homa). The purpose of the subsequent offerings to the devikās (the male Dhātṛ and his four female partners) clearly is to set in motion the year and the exhausted powers of fertility. These offerings are supplemented by the triṣaṃyukta offerings which are concerned with fertility and procreation, and the offerings to Agni Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa which serve the purpose of the regeneration of the year and of the king, who at the end of the year is said to "lose his teeth". Next to these offerings come the sacrifices in the houses of the ratnins; being, according to the Taittirīyakas, twelve in number, they are connected by the TB. with the twelve months of the year. After these ratnin offerings an offering is made to Mitra and Bṛhaspati, which at the same time forms the beginning of the dīkṣā for the central unction festival. This dīkṣā occupies, according to several authorities, another year; in the last ten days of this year the central unction festival and the daśapeya festival are due. In the central Soma festival the unction and several other royal ceremonies are inserted, all of which (especially the chariot drive) have been seen to be concerned with the annual regeneration of the fertility powers. The daśapeya also has a definite bearing on the regeneration of the year; thus for instance the twelve pregnant cows given to the brahman priest on the occasion are identified with the twelve months of the year. The days between the unction and daśapeya festivals are marked by the ten saṃsṛp offerings which form an abridged representation of the course of the year. After the lapse of yet a third year, inaugurated by the unction and daśapeya festivals and marked by the "yoking" offerings, another consecratory ceremony is performed: the Soma festival in which is inserted the ceremonial cutting of the hair that has been left to grow during the preceding year. The hair-cutting symbolizes the yearly process by which the earth is shorn of its vegetation in order to produce new vegetation. The hair-cutting festival is followed by the two day Soma festival called "dawn" (*vyuṣṭi-*), by which the year is "obtained" as the TB. puts it. The seventh (the vyuṣṭi being reckoned as two) and last Soma festival, the "wielding of power" (*kṣatrasya dhṛti-*) is the exact counterpart of the introductory festival and thus closes the cycle of the rājasūya.

In this light the rājasūya can be viewed as an abridged representation of the unending cyclical process of decay and regeneration. Though it seems that the rājasūya as known to us has been moulded into a ceremony performed once and for all, the fact that on some occasions its central feature, the regenerating unction, is spoken of in the brāhmaṇa texts as already performed,[1] points to an original pattern of yearly repeated unction and regeneration ceremonies. Moreover the regeneration motive is to be resumed once again after the conclusion of the rājasūya by the sautrāmaṇī sacrifice which also amounts to renewal and rebirth.

In the centre of the cyclical regenerations of the universe, set in motion and regulated by the ritual proceedings at the place of sacrifice, stands the king. When, standing with raised arms, he receives the unction, the king manifests himself as the cosmic pillar, the path between heaven and earth along which the fertilizing unction waters take their circular course from sky to earth and back again. The king is, however, not only the centre and pivot of the universe, he is the universe itself; he has been seen to encompass, like the cosmic man Prajāpati, the universe in respect both to space and to time. He is not conceived of as a static image of the cosmic structure, he impersonates the cosmic tide of regeneration and decay. Like the cosmic pillar he rises to the summit of the universe and descends again: against the raising of his arms stands their lowering; he mounts by strides to the zenith (mounting of the quarters of space) and descends again after the daśapeya (offerings to the quarters of space), and again at the hair-cutting festival where his descent is represented by a peculiar arrangement of the liturgical performances; furthermore the rājasūya as a whole is enclosed between the ascension, represented by the introductory Soma festival (*abhyārohaṇīya-*), and the descent, represented by the last Soma festival, called by the Vaitāna-sūtra *pratyavarohaṇīya-*.

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[1] I refer to the discussion of the iṣṭi series for Anumati and other divinities (p. 22), the devikā offerings and the iṣṭis for Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa.

Ascension and descent, disintegration and reintegration, chaotic dispersion and re-articulated structure, such are the terms of the cosmic rhythm as represented in the different phases of the rājasūya. They are epitomized in the king's unction, which has been seen to be at once birth, concentration of the cosmic forces, and death, disintegration. The unction is preceded as well as followed by a year of dīkṣā (respectively the unction dīkṣā and the dīkṣā-like observances) or by a year-long course through the universe (respectively four-monthly sacrifices and "yoking" offerings or saṃsṛps), encompassing and re-articulating its elements. It would therefore appear to the present writer that the unction exemplifies the cosmic role of the king: on the joint between two subsequent time cycles, having encompassed and articulated the universe during the course of the preceding time cycle, he emerges from his dīkṣā, that is his embryonic state, to be born; but at the same time he dies and disintegrates, to ripen during another year-long dīkṣā (or to be recomposed by a course through the universe) towards a new birth at the end of the next time cycle when the same process starts all over again. In other words the king, as represented in the rājasūya, is the incorporation of the universe's moving forces: "boom to bust, and boom again."

In the rājasūya different rites or rather cycles of rites have been moulded into a unified pattern. Thus a scheme consisting of iṣṭis seems to have been doubled by a scheme of Soma festivals and intervening dīkṣā periods: the introductory Soma sacrifice, the year-long dīkṣā before the unction, and the year-long dīkṣā-like observances following the unction can be set against respectively the eight iṣṭis for Anumati and other divinities, the four-monthly sacrifices and the "yoking" offerings. Instructive

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in this respect are also the different ceremonies which were intended to frame the unction: the devasū offerings and the sacrifice of a sūtavaśā cow, both of which lost their connection with the unction itself; eventually the unction was framed in the Soma paradigma and in an iṣṭi for the Maruts. There are also traces of a connection of the unction with the surā ritual (the eating of young barley sprouts, the tiger skin with the piece of lead). Possibly the religious interests of different circles were united in the final shaping of the rājasūya. This might also account for the fact that in different phases various gods come to the fore as the divine prototypes of kingship. In the first place there is Soma presiding over the Somic festivals. These festivals are in themselves fully expressive of the cosmic kingship as outlined above, as their concern with the death and regeneration of "king Soma" shows; moreover it is to be considered that their basic form, the agniṣṭoma, is in the first instance an annual spring festival.[2] On several occasions, especially at his proclamation, the king seems to be identified with king Soma. Also Varuṇa plays an important part. After him the rājasūya is styled Varuṇasava, and the king is anointed as Varuṇa; from his cult the aquatic form of the rājasūya unction seems to originate. In the sacrifice of the barren cow and in some other rites, such as the indraturīya and the ratnin offerings, the attention is focussed on Indra as the royal prototype with whom the king is identified. Possibly he presided over one of the precursors of the present rājasūya, as also over the various unction ceremonies described in the eighth book of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Another trace of his former pre-eminence can perhaps be observed in the equation of the rājasūya with the slaying of Vṛtra, Indra's characteristic feat. Also the cult of Agni, another king of the gods – he is especially referred to as such in the iṣṭi for Agni Vaiśvānara – seems to have contributed to the rājasūya, as may appear from the, unfortunately rather scanty, references to the *pūrvāgni-* in the chariot drive and the dicing ceremony. Though these gods are intertwined in Vedic mythology and their cults are by no means mutually exclusive, they have not, as might be expected, been moulded into a unified pattern of mutually complementing aspects of cosmic kingship. The references to them rather bear witness to the rhapsodic character of the rājasūya, which in fact can be viewed as an encyclopaedic conglomerate of royal rites. If one would ask which is the deity presiding over the rājasūya, there can be only one answer: the king, who by virtue of the ritual realizes his inherent identity with the cosmos and its processes. The stature of the king completely overshadows the gods who are only concerned with limited spheres of action, and who are on several occasions integrated into the person of the king.

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[2] Cf. H. Hubert-M. Mauss, *Essai sur la nature du sacrifice* (Mélanges d'histoire des religions, Paris 1909), p. 19; CH. p. 1.

If then the king occupies a position of such overriding importance, it is strange that the śrauta ritual as a whole does not offer much scope for a royal cult, or for "sacra publica" centred on the king. In the śrauta ritual the king is just a sacrificer, on equal footing with any commoner who can afford to have a sacrifice performed. On the other hand, however, it would seem to the present writer that the idea of cosmic kingship forms the core of the whole śrauta ritual and especially of the Soma ritual.[3] The common sacrificer gains power over the universe and its processes, and identifies himself with them in the same way as does the king. In the preceding chapters, moreover, there are some royal rites which not only correspond to general śrauta rites but in point of fact seem to have been the prototypes of these general rites. I refer to the preparation of the royal sacrificer for his unction, which in some respects may well have stood as model of the dīkṣā; the dicing ceremony of the rājasūya shows some features suggestive of its being more original or even the prototype of the same ceremony at the laying out of the sacrificial fires. Most important is also the daśapeya which probably represents a more original form of the Soma sacrifice as a rite of Somic communion between the king, the people and the brahmins.

The distinctive feature of Indian kingship is the intimate connection of royal and priestly power, the marriage-like bond between the king and a brahmin, his purohita. The brahman power has been seen to be the womb from which again and again the royal power comes forth. Between them the king and the purohita regulate the course of the universe. There is, however, yet another not less important marriage-like bond, the one established between the king and the people, the *viś-*. The king is generally known as the *viśpati-*, the lord of the people, who as the impregnator goes into the people and is reborn from it as the embryo of the people (*viśāṃ garbha-*). Now the daśapeya seems to have been a ceremony celebrating the marriage-like bond between king and people. It still shows the character of a "sacrum publicum" in which the people fully participated The elaboration and refining of the ritual technique, however, could not but turn it into the exclusive domain of the ritual specialists, the brahmins. Thus the people became gradually excluded from the ritual, in which it could no longer participate. The relation king-people was ruled out of the game in favour of the relation king-brahman. The royal ritual became a private rite. In the course of its elaboration the ritual, borrowing its materials and ideas from the royal cult, developed into a highly refined autonomous machinery, replacing kingship as the central agency of the cosmic processes and generalizing the king into the *yajamāna-*.

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[3] On the royal essence of the śrauta ritual, cf. also P. Mus, "Barabuḍur", *BEFEO*, 33 (1934), p. 790f.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. TEXTS

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AB.	Aitareya-brāhmaṇa
Āp.[1]	Āpastamba-śrautasūtra
Āśv.[1]	Āśvalāyana-śrautasūtra
AV.	Atharvaveda-saṃhitā
BĀU.	Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad
Baudh.[1]	Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra
BlYV.	Black Yajur Veda.
ChUp.	Chāndogya-upaniṣad
GobhGS.	Gobhila-gṛhyasūtra
GB., GopB.	Gopatha-brāhmaṇa
Hir.[1]	Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhyasūtra
JB.	Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa (Raghu Vīra – Lokesh Chandra, *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda, Sarasvatī-Vihāra Series*, vol. 31 (Nagpur, 1954); Auswahl: Caland's partly edition and translation).
JUB.	Jaiminīya-upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa
Kāty.	Kātyāyana-śrautasūtra
KB.	Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa
KS.	Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā
Kauś.	Kauśika-sūtra
KauṣUp.	Kauṣītaki-upaniṣad
Lāṭy.	Lāṭyāyana-śrautasūtra
Mān(ava)[1]	Mānava-śrautasūtra
Mhbh.	Mahābhārata
MS.	Maitrāyaṇī-saṃhitā
PārGS.	Pāraskara-gṛhyasūtra
PB.	Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa
RV.	Ṛgveda-saṃhitā
ṢaḍvB.	Ṣaḍviṃśa-brāhmaṇa
Śaṅkh.[1]	Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra
ŚB.	Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa
SV.	Sāmaveda-saṃhitā
TĀ.	Taittirīya-āraṇyaka
TB.	Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa
TS.	Taittirīya-saṃhitā
Vādh.	Vādhūla-sūtra
Vait.	Vaitāna-sūtra

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[1] When GS. is added to this abbreviation the reference is to the Gṛhyasūtra.

VS.	Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā
WhYV.	White Yajur Veda
Vārāha	Vārāha-śrautasūtra

B. OTHER WORKS, SERIES AND PERIODICALS

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Bergaigne, R.V.	A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique d'après les hymnes du Rig-Veda*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1878-83)
B.I.	*Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta
Caland, Wunschopfer (Caland, W.O.)	W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei, Darstellung der altindischen "Wunschopfer", Verh. der Kon. Ak. v. Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, X, 1 (Amsterdam, 1908)
CH.:	W. Caland-V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906-07)
Dumont, Aśvamedha:	P. E. Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha, Description du sacrifice solennel du cheval dans le culte védique* (Paris-Louvain, 1927)
Eliade, Traité:	M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1953)
ERE.:	*Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religions and Ethics* (Edinburgh, 1908-26)
Gonda, Viṣṇuism	J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954)
Hillebrandt, Rituallit(eratur)	A. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, III, 2 (Strassburg, 1897)
——, VM.	A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I-II, 2. Auflage (Breslau, 1927-29)
——, NVO.	A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer* (Jena, 1879)
HOS.	*Harvard Oriental Series*, New Haven
IHQ.	*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta
JA.	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris
JAOS.	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven
JRAS.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London
Keith, RPhV.	A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, HOS.*, 31-32 (Cambridge, Mass., 1925)
v. d. Leeuw, Religion	G. van der Leeuw, *La Religion dans son essence et ses manifestations* (Paris, 1955)
Lévi, Doctrine	S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas, Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, sc. rel., XI (Paris, 1898)
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Macdonell-Keith, V.I.	A. A. Macdonell-A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of names and subjects* (London, 1912)
Meyer, Trilogie	J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, I-III (Zürich-Leipzig, 1937)
Oldenberg, RdV.	H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, 2. Auflage (Stuttgart, 1923)
——, Weltanschauung	H. Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte* (Göttingen, 1919)
Renou, VRV.	L. Renou, *Vocabulaire du Rituel Védique* (Paris, 1954)
SBE.	*Sacred Books of the East*, London

Schrader-Nehring, RIA.	O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, 2. Auflage (Berlin, 1917-1927)
Schwab, Thieropfer	J. Schwab, *Das altindische Thieropfer mit Benützung handschriftlicher Quellen dargestellt* (Erlangen, 1886)
Weber	A. Weber, *Über die Königsweihe, den Rājasūya, Abhandl. der Preuss. Ak. der Wiss.* (Berlin, 1893)
WZKM.	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vienna
ZDMG.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig-Wiesbaden

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